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ABSTRACT

This instructional package, consisting of a text and 27 transparencies, is designed for the middle and secondary school classroom. The unit focuses on three topics: (1) "Germany in the European Union (EU)" (four lessons focusing on history of the EU, characteristics of member states, and EU governance); (2) "Economic Issues in Germany and the European Union" (three lessons focusing on the Euro, environmental policy, standard of living); and (3) "People of Germany and the European Union" (three lessons focusing on citizenship, nationalism, immigration, and the legacy of the Holocaust). Each lesson states an educational objective; lists materials and resources; offers an overview; and provides maps and activities. (BT)

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Germany in Europe: Enduring Issues. Social Studies Grades 6-12. Update 2002.

Glen Blankenship
Louisa Moffitt

Goethe House, New York, NY.
Inter Nationes, Bonn (Germany).

SO 034 296

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GERMANY IN EUROPE

Enduring Issues

Update 2002

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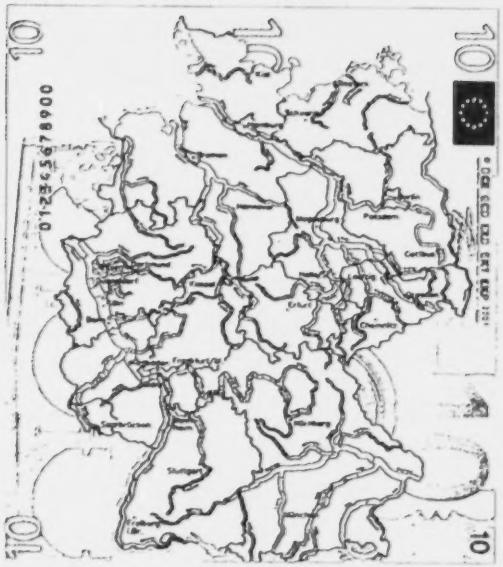
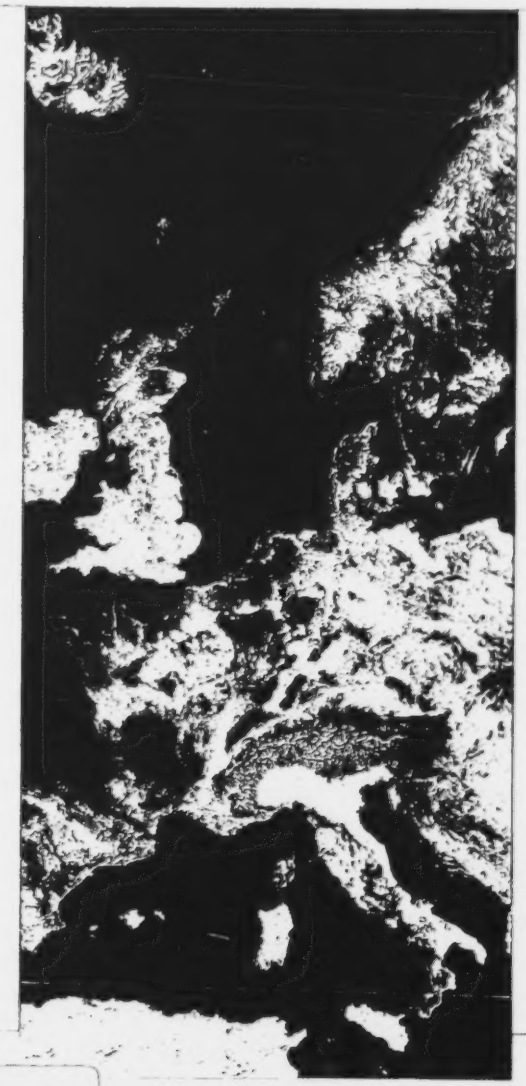
GRADES 6–12





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Germany in Europe

Enduring Issues

Update 2002

Glen Blankenship
Louisa Moffitt

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Modern Germany

Materials for the Social Studies Classroom Description of Publications

A Kid Like Me Across the Sea is a primary/elementary instructional package targeted at grades K-3 with interest level extending to adult. This series of five lessons draws heavily on interpretation of photographs and addresses the topics of physical and cultural geography; basic needs of food, clothing and shelter; community services and community helpers; transportation and communication; political symbols; and migration of people.

Communities and Regions in Germany is an instructional package targeted at upper elementary curriculum. This instructional package, presented to students as a travelogue, stresses basic map and globe/geography skills and presents case studies of communities (cities/towns/villages) across Germany.

Overview of Germany is designed for middle school classrooms. The four lessons in the package correlate to the study of world cultures (perspective taking and symbols), geography and government. The materials focus on national studies and state studies from a comparative United States/Germany approach.

Germany in Europe: Enduring Issues is designed for the middle and secondary school classroom. The unit is organized around three topics: Germany in the European Union (history of the EU, characteristics of member states, and EU governance), Economic Issues in Germany and the European Union (the Euro, environmental policy, standard of living), and The People of Germany and the European Union (citizenship, nationalism, immigration, and the legacy of the Holocaust).

The Geography of Germany is designed for high school classrooms. The five lessons in this instructional package relate to the "Five Themes of Geography" (Location, Place, Human-Environment Interaction, Movement and Region) as promoted by the National Geographic Society. The lessons are designed to support the teaching of courses in world geography and world history.

Cultural Reflections: Work, Politics and Daily Life in Germany is also designed for the high school classroom. The three lessons in this instructional kit include "The German Worker," "Culture and Daily Life in Germany" and "Government in Germany." Student activities focus on comparative economic systems, worker training and apprenticeship programs, structure of government (including case studies of the health care system and the federal budget), the role of the press in Germany, and leisure activities.

Additional materials which support these instructional programs are also available: political and physical **wall maps of Germany and Europe;** *Germany Since 1945: A Focus on Berlin* **video;** *Facts About Germany* **handbook;** and additional resources.

These materials were written by social studies educators in Georgia
and printed by **Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes, Bonn**

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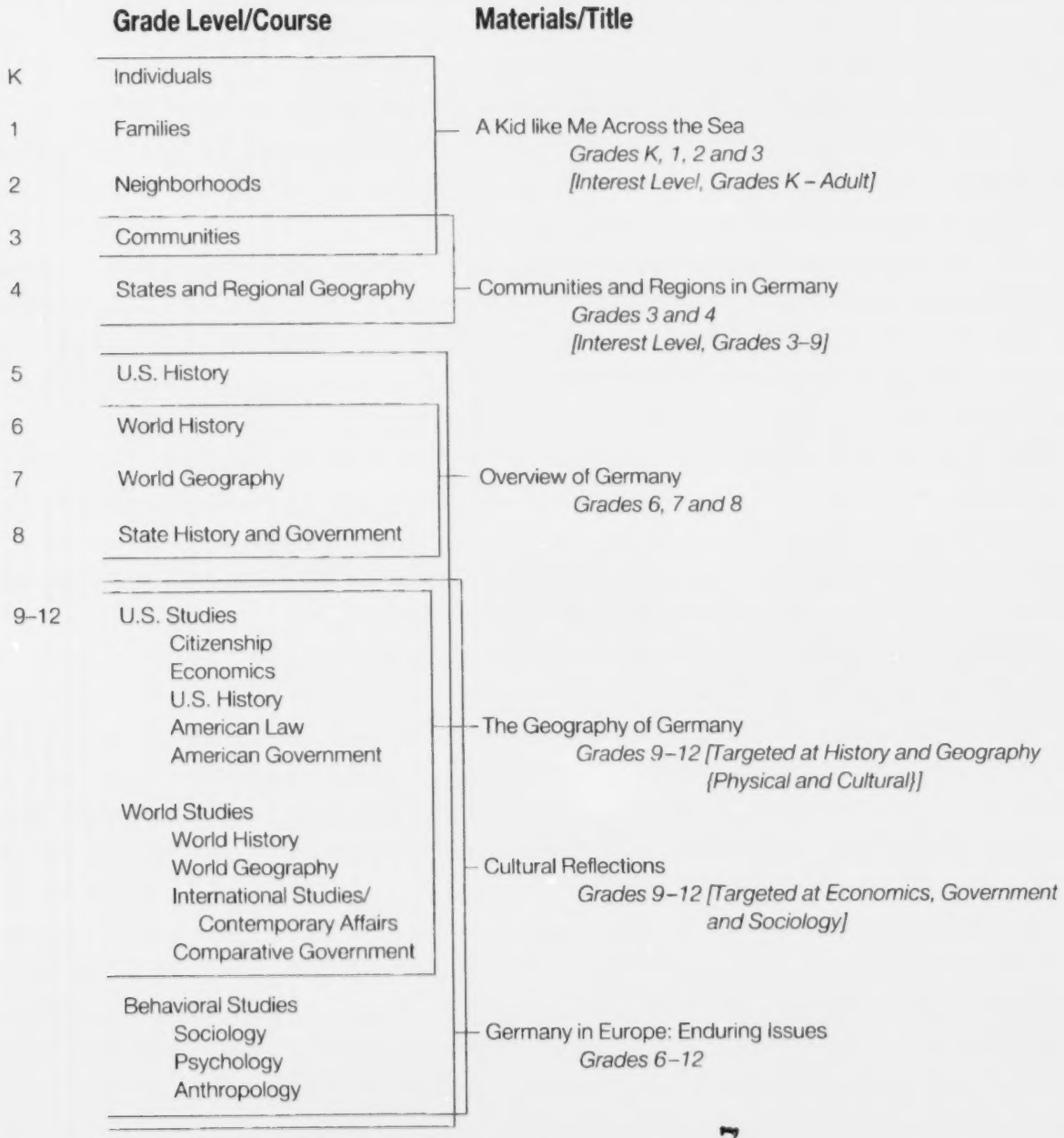
Modern Germany

Materials for the Social Studies Classroom Scope and Sequence, K-12



Introduction

This collection of lessons was developed as a result of a study/travel seminar undertaken by the authors during the summer of 1999. The goal of the project was to develop and disseminate exemplary lessons for teaching about the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in the European Union.

These lessons are designed so that they may be used individually via integration into the curriculum, or collectively as a complete stand-alone unit. The teacher should adjust the materials to accomodate the needs, interests, and performance levels of students in their classrooms. Each lesson begins with an outline for teaching which includes instructional objectives, a list of necessary materials, and a sequenced list of procedures for using the activities provided with the lesson. The lessons provide the teacher with most of the materials needed for implementation.

Acknowledgements

Glen Blankenship, co-author of the lesson plans, is the Program Director at the Georgia Council on Economic Education in Atlanta, Georgia. He is a frequent presenter at state, regional, and national conferences and consults with school districts across the nation to develop curriculum and improve student learning. Dr. Blankenship earned his B.A. and M.Ed. in Political Science from Georgia State University, and a D.A.S.T. and Ph.D. in educational leadership from Emory University.
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T1

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Topic 1 Germany in the European Union

Lesson 1 What is the role of Germany in the history of the creation of the European Union?

Lesson Objective

The students will describe the formation and growth of the European Union.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 1.1 "The Creation of the European Union"
- Worksheet 1.1 "Important Dates in the Creation of the European Union"
- Transparency 1 "Member Nations of the European Union" (with overlay)
- Color transparency markers (blue, green, red, yellow, orange)
- Teacher Resource 1.1 "United States of Europe"
- Reading 1 "Europe Invites 5 Ex-Communist Nations to Join...if"

Strategies

The concept of a European Union emerged gradually from a series of organizations that developed in the years following World War II. The earliest of these organizations was established to regulate fuel and energy needs, but the recognition for organizations to encourage political cooperation among European nations soon followed.

Begin this lesson by distributing Handout 1.1, "The Creation of the European Union," for pairs of students to read. Each pair should also be given a copy of Worksheet 1.1, "Important Dates in the History of the European Union" to complete as they read the article. To highlight key stages of the development of the European Union, lead a discussion of the reading and timeline by asking questions such as the following.

- What was the motivation behind the desire to create some sort of European union?
- What are the most obvious obstacles to the creation of such a union?
- What would be the impact of individual nations' experiences during World War II on this process?
- How would Cold War politics play a role in these efforts?
- What do students know about the geography of Europe that would both help and hinder the creation of a European union?
- How would the interests of the United States be affected by a European union?

Next, use Transparency 1, "Member Nations of the European Union" to construct a color-coded map showing when individual nations joined what is today the European Union. Have students use Handout

Lesson 1

1.1, "The Creation of the European Union," to identify the member nations and the date each joined the EU. As the nations are identified, the teacher should shade the map according to the color key. A discussion could follow based on the following questions.

- Which countries were the earliest members and why?
- What historic or political reasons may account for the order in which later nations were added?
- Which nations might be added next? Why?

Conclude this activity by creating a transparency from Teacher Resource 1.1, "United States of Europe." Share the quote with the class and lead a discussion of the progress being made to create a Europe united in peace and prosperity. Reading 1, "Europe Invites 5 Ex-Communist Nations to Join ... if" provides the basis for additional discussion. Ask students to consider the following questions.

- Why might these five ex-Communist nations seek membership in the European Union?
- Why might the member nations of the European Union be cautious about admitting additional nations?

The Creation of the European Union

When World War II came to an end in 1945, many in Europe sought ways to avoid future disputes by promoting cooperation and interdependence among the countries of Europe. The first organizations to emerge from this process were aimed at strengthening economic ties among the different countries. The Schuman Plan for establishing a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was put forward in accordance with the Treaty of Paris. The agreement was signed on April 18, 1951 by Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Its purpose was to set up a common market for the member countries' resources of coal, steel, iron ore, and scrap. It began operations on July 25, 1952.

The Treaties of Rome established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) on January 1, 1958. The purpose of the EEC was to integrate, over a 12-year transition period, the members' economic resources other than coal and steel into an economic union within which goods, labor, services, and capital would move freely. Common policies for foreign trade, agriculture, and transport would also be implemented. The purpose of EURATOM was to create the conditions necessary for the speedy establishment and growth of nuclear industries with the Community. It also was to have various responsibilities of a regulatory nature.

The treaty establishing a single Council of Ministers and a single Commission of the European Communities was signed in Brussels on April 8, 1965, among the original member countries of the three Communities: European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The treaty went into effect on July 1, 1967, merging these three organizations under a single Council of Ministers and a single Commission known as the European Community (EC).

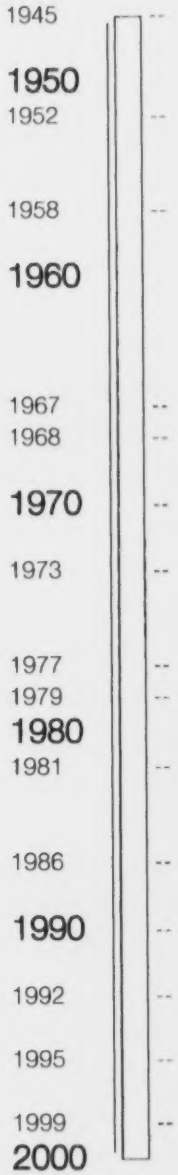
The customs union among the original six members became effective July 1, 1968. In 1970, cooperation began in the sphere of foreign policy, termed European Political Cooperation (EPC). Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the European Community (EC) January 1, 1973. Custom duties among all member nations were abolished on July 1, 1977. Greece became a member January 1, 1981, with a transitional five-year arrangement. Spain and Portugal became members January 1, 1986. Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined January 1, 1995.

On December 5, 1978, the European Council, composed of heads of state and government of the countries of the European Community, adopted a resolution regarding the establishment of a European Monetary System (EMS). The EMS entered into force March 13, 1979. The aim of the EMS is the creation of a closer monetary cooperation leading to a zone of monetary stability in Europe. The European Currency Unit (ECU) is the centerpiece of the EMS. The Treaty of European Union provided for a common currency no later than 1999.

The single market has opened up new markets for European integration including that of an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The EMU is a three-step process. On July 1, 1990, the European Community entered stage one, which aimed at improving economic and monetary policies in the member states including the removal of most exchange controls. After German unification in 1990, work began on the Maastricht Treaty that went into effect January 1, 1992, transforming the Community into a European Union. The Maastricht Treaty provided the legal basis for stage two, which began January 1, 1994, creating a European Monetary Institute (EMI). This paved the way for a European System of Central Banks at the beginning of stage three, and the introduction of a single currency, the EURO, in 1999.

Adapted from
http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/decdo/ec.htm

Important Dates in the Creation of the European Union



Important Dates in the Creation of the European Union

Key

1945	End of World War II
1950	
1952	Schuman Plan signals beginning of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
1958	Beginning of European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and European Economic Community (EEC)
1960	
1967	ECSC, EEC and EURATOM merge into the European Community (EC)
1968	Customs Union (CU) formed
1970	Cooperation begins in foreign policy (EPC)
1973	Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the EC
1977	Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the CU
1979	European Monetary System introduced
1980	
1981	Greece joins EC
1986	Spain and Portugal join EC
1990	Germany unifies
1992	Maastricht Treaty signed putting single market into effect; creation of European Monetary Institution
1995	Sweden, Austria, Finland join European Union
1999	Implementation of common currency, the EURO
2000	

Member Nations of the European Union

Member Nations of the European Union

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United States of Europe

"If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels. . .which we have seen even in this twentieth century. . .wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind."

Winston Churchill, 1946

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Europe Invites 5 Ex-Communist Nations to Join... if

By JANE PERLEZ

BUDAPEST, July 16 — In an invitation of grand intent but carrying an uncertain timetable and many caveats, the European Union's governing body today formally named five former Communist countries to begin negotiations for membership. A similar invitation was made to Cyprus.

"We have a historic opportunity carrying with it profound changes," the President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, told the European Parliament in Strasbourg as he announced the plans for expansion.

The designated countries — Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovenia — greeted the declaration as a seal of approval of their progress toward developing market economies.

The Hungarian Prime Minister, Gyula Horn, said today that he saw no reason why Hungary, which has attracted the most foreign investment in the region and is starting to show signs of recovery after a two-year slump, could not be a member of the European Union by 2000.

But beneath the optimism, officials in Western Europe and in the former Communist bloc said the process of expanding the European Union would be a long haul compared to that of enlarging the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Last week NATO said it would accept the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland into the alliance by 1999.

In its assessment of the five formerly Communist countries, the European Commission said they had the best chance of 10 applicants to meet European Union requirements in the "medium term." But the commission also stressed that the formerly centrally planned economies still had a lot of restructuring to make before they could be accepted.

Poland, for example, the country with the largest population among the five, needed to modernize its vast agricultural sector and speed up its sluggish privatization efforts, the commission said.

Five former Communist countries and Cyprus were told they may open talks for membership in the European Union, but the hurdles are high.

A Polish economist, Jacek Sariusz-Wolski, acknowledged today that Poland still had a long way to go in improving its economic situation, and had "a very long list" of things it needed to do. Mr. Sariusz-Wolski is a former official of the Polish Government who led talks with the European Union. Poland's inflation rate — 19 percent last year — needed to get down to a "decent European standard of 3 percent," he said.

In a striking example of how far Poland's economy lags behind, the commission said that per capita gross domestic product in Poland was only 31 percent of the European Union's average. In another illustration of the wealth gap, a Polish official calculated that with 6 percent growth a year it would take 20 years for Poland to catch up to where Greece, the poorest country in the European Union, is today.

As the commission voiced its concerns about the countries it had invited, those countries that were not included expressed dismay. Some officials said the European Union action threatened to create a two-tiered group of haves and have-nots among the former Communist bloc.

In order to counter this impression, the senior official in charge of expansion, Hans van den Broek, told the European Parliament that there would "not be ins and outs, but ins and pre-ins, with the possibility of the latter to join the former as soon as the conditions are met."

Such language did not mollify the Romanian Prime Minister, Victor Ciorbea, whose country was pointedly excluded from NATO membership last week.

"Expansion in waves is justified in the case of NATO, but it is not justified for the European Union, which is a process of continuous integration," Mr. Ciorbea said during a visit to Budapest today.

The European Commission said in its report on the applicants for membership that Romania had made progress during the seven months of Mr. Ciorbea's Government but that this progress had not translated into economic growth. The other countries that were not invited for membership talks but had applied were Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovakia.

Within the European Union itself there was considerable doubt about how far the eastward expansion would go while France and Germany faced high unemployment and discontent among powerful trade unions.

The European Union itself faces many basic disagreements, including the deep divisions on the goal of uniting Europe around a common currency, the euro. The commission noted today that the union would have to make major changes in its own agricultural policies before it could accept any new members.

Such hurdles within the European Union have prompted questions among some Western businessmen who have invested in the former Communist countries about whether the "fast track" nations like Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic should even be applying for membership.

Jane Perlez, The New York Times International, Thursday, July 17, 1998, p. A-6.

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Lesson 2 What are some significant characteristics of Germany and other member nations of the European Union?

Lesson Objective

The students will analyse data to identify member nations of the European Union and use this information to draw conclusions about relationships among these nations.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 1.2 "Member Nation Profiles"
- Worksheet 1.2 "EU Data Summary Chart"
- Transparency 2 "Country Size by Land Area"
- Transparency 3 "Country Size by Population"
- Transparency 4 "Country Size by Gross National Product"
- Handout 1.3 "EU Begins Enlargement Process for 11 Candidates"

Strategies

Even though the fifteen member nations of the European Union share a common geographic location, many significant differences exist, among them availability of natural resources, population concerns, and economic pressures. These factors play a role in influencing the political relationships within the Union.

Begin this lesson by organizing students into groups of 4–5 members. Give each group a packet containing the first five data sheets labeled "Mystery Nation" found in Handout 1.2, "Member Nation Profiles." Ask students to examine the data and determine which EU member nation each data sheet represents [Country 1-*Great Britain*; Country 2-*France*; Country 3-*Germany*, Country 4-*Greece*; Country 5-*Italy*]. Once they have identified each of these nations, point out the wide variations in attributes among the countries such as geographic size, population and population density, unemployment rate, Gross Domestic Product and per capita income, and agricultural/industrial output.

Next, provide each group of students with the remaining 11 data sheets from Handout 1.2, "Member Nation Profiles" [which identify the other EU member nations and the United States] and a copy of Worksheet 1.2, "EU Data Summary Chart." Ask students to complete the worksheet using the profile data sheets. Show students transparencies 2, 3 and 4. Have students compare the maps and draw conclusions about European Union member states as compared to non EU states. Comparisons of EU

states to other world regions will also provide interesting information. Conclude this activity by asking students to develop a list of generalizations based on the information they have examined. For comparative purposes, similar data are provided for the United States. Possible generalizations made by students may include:

- All of the countries have some form of representative government.
- All of the countries have exceptionally high literacy rates.
- Some of the countries are more urban than others. (Have students determine the geographic distribution of the urbanized countries.)
- In virtually every country, industry accounts for a higher proportion of the GDP than agriculture.
- Only a few countries have petroleum resources. (While coal is plentiful, environmental issues are involved.)
- The United States plays a significant role in trade with all the countries of the European Union.
- Some of the countries are more dependent on foreign sources of energy than others.
- Differences in population density and population growth are going to be sources of political and economic pressure in the future.

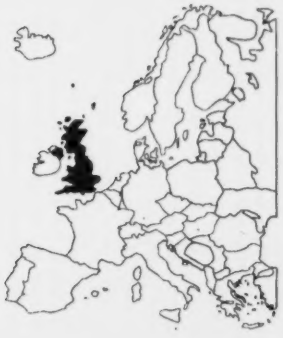
The European Union has already been contacted by 11 additional nations seeking admission. Many see this as an affirmation of the EU goal of uniting the continent, but obstacles remain before this goal can be fulfilled. To emphasize this point with students, distribute Handout 1.3, "EU Begins Enlargement Process for 11 Candidates" for students to read. When they finish, the teacher should project a copy of Transparency 1, "Member Nations of the European Union" and help students locate these 11 countries on the map. Discussion questions could include the following.

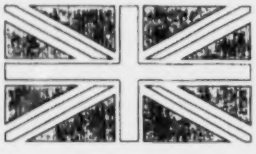
- In what way did some of those interviewed for this article feel the expansion of the EU would help heal the wounds of World War II?
- How is this expansion a direct result of the end of the Cold War?
- What specific problems are mentioned related to the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovenia?
- What makes the proposed membership of Cyprus the most difficult problem of all?
- According to the article, how long will the admission process for these nations take?

Member Nation Profiles

Mystery Country #1

Area ***sq. mi.***	94,251	**Urbanization**	89%	**System of Government**	Constitutional Monarchy
Population	60 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	634	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.24%
Life Expectancy	74 men 80 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment Rate**	5.3%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.6%	**GDP per capita Income**	$21,200 (1998)	**Inflation**	2.7%
Currency	Pound Sterling	**Primary Language(s)**	English Welsh Gaelic	**Religion**	Anglican 27 million Catholic 9 million Muslim 1 million Presbyterian 800,000
Natural Resources	Coal, natural gas, petroleum, limestone, clay, chalk, gravel	**Agriculture**	Cereals, livestock and related products, fish	**Industry**	Steel, heavy engineering and metal manufacturing, textiles, motor vehicles and aircraft construction, electronics, chemicals
Exports	Machinery and transport equipment, petroleum, chemicals, manufactures	**Imports**	Machinery and transport equipment, manufactures, foodstuffs, some petroleum and chemicals		





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Member Nation Profiles

Mystery Country #2

Area ***sq. mi.***	220,668	**Urbanization**	80%	**System of Government**	Republic
Population	59 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	227	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.4%
Life Expectancy	75 men 83 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment Rate**	11.5%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.4%	**GDP per capita Income**	$22,260	**Inflation**	.7%
Currency	Franc	**Primary Language(s)**	French	**Religion**	Catholic 90% Protestant 2% Jewish 1% Muslim 1%
Natural Resources	Coal, iron ore, bauxite	**Agriculture**	Wine, cheese, cereals, sugar, beets, potatoes, beef	**Industry**	Aircraft, electronics, transportation equipment, cement and lime, textiles, clothing, food, steel
Exports	Chemicals, electronics, machinery, consumer goods, automobiles	**Imports**	Crude petroleum, electronics, machinery, consumer goods, automobiles		

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Member Nation Profiles

Mystery Country #3

Area ***sq. mi.***	137,821	**Urbanization**	85%	**System of Government**	Federal Republic
Population	82 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	610	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.01%
Life Expectancy	74 men 80 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	10.6%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.7%	**GDP per capita Income**	$22,100	**Inflation**	2.5%
Currency	Deutsche Mark	**Primary Language(s)**	German	**Religion**	Protestant 38% Catholic 34% Muslim 2% unaffiliate 26%
Natural Resources	Iron, hard coal, lignite, potash, natural gas	**Agriculture**	Corn, wheat, potatoes, sugar beets, barley, hops, viniculture, forestry, fisheries	**Industry**	Iron and steel, coal, chemicals, electrical products, automobiles, apparel, livestock and food
Exports	Chemicals, motor vehicles and steel products, manufactured goods, electrical products	**Imports**	Food, petroleum products, manufactured goods, electrical products, automobiles, apparel livestock an food		

Member Nation Profiles

Mystery Country #4

Area ***sq. mi.***	51,146	**Urbanization**	63%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary Republic
Population	11 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	211	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.41%
Life Expectancy	76 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	95%	**Unemployment**	10%
GDP Real Growth Rate	3%	**GDP per capita Income**	$13,400	**Inflation**	3.9%
Currency	Drachma	**Primary Language(s)**	Greek	**Religion**	Orthodox 98% Muslim 1.3% other .7%
Natural Resources	Bauxite, lignite, magnesium, oil, marble	**Agriculture**	Sugar beets, grains, tomatoes, olives and olive oil, grapes, wine, citrus fruits, tobacco, cotton, peaches, dairy products, livestock	**Industry**	Processed food, shoes, textiles metals, chemicals, cement, glass, transport, equipment
Exports	Manufactured goods, food and beverages, petroleum products, cement, chemicals	**Imports**	Basic manufactured goods, food and animals, crude oil, chemicals machinery		

Member Nation Profiles

Mystery Country #5

Area ***sq. mi.***	116,306	**Urbanization**	69%	**System of Government**	Republic
Population	57 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	508	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	-.08%
Life Expectancy	75 men 82 women	**Literacy Rate**	97%	**Unemployment**	12.5%
GDP Real Growth Rate	1.5%	**GDP per capita Income**	$20,800	**Inflation**	1.8%
Currency	Lira	**Primary Language(s)**	Italian	**Religion**	Catholic 98% other 2%
Natural Resources	fish, marble, natural gas	**Agriculture**	Wheat, rice, grapes, olives, citrus fruits	**Industry**	Automobiles, machinery, chemicals, textiles, shoes
Exports	Mechanical products, textiles and apparel, transportation, equipment, metal and chemical products, food and agricultural products, energy products	**Imports**	Machinery and transport products, foodstuffs, metals wool, cotton, energy products		

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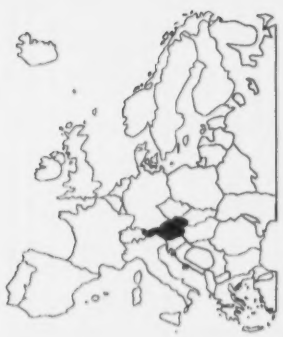
Member Nation Profiles

AUSTRIA

Area ***sq. mi.***	32,377	**Urbanization**	54%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary Democracy
Population	8.1 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	253	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.09%
Life Expectancy	74 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	7%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.9%	**GDP per capita Income**	$22,700	**Inflation**	.9%
Currency	Schilling	**Primary Language(s)**	German	**Religion**	Catholic 78% Protestant 5% other 17%
Natural Resources	Iron, ore, crude oil, natural gas, timber, tungsten, magnesite, cement	**Agriculture**	Livestock, forest products, grains, sugar beets, potatoes	**Industry**	Iron and steel, chemicals, capital equipment, consumer goods
Exports	Iron and steel products, timber paper, textiles, electro-technical machinery, chemical products			**Imports**	Machinery, vehicles, chemicals, iron and steel, metal goods, fuels, raw materials, foodstuff



Member Nation Profiles

BELGIUM

Area ***sq. mi.***	11,799	**Urbanization**	97%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary democracy constitutional monarchy
Population	10.2 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	847	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.06%
Life Expectancy	74 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	12%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.8%	**GDP per capita Income**	$23,400	**Inflation**	1%
Currency	Franc	**Primary Language(s)**	Dutch French German	**Religion**	Roman Catholic 75% Protestant or other 25%
Natural Resources	Coal	**Agriculture**	Livestock, grain, sugar beets, nursery products, flax, tobacco, potatoes, other vegetables and fruits	**Industry**	Machinery iron and steel, coal, textiles, chemicals, glass, pharmaceuticals, manufactured goods
Exports	Iron and steel, transportation equipment, tractors, diamonds, petroleum products			**Imports**	Fuels, chemical products, grains, foodstuffs

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Member Nation Profiles

DENMARK

Area ***sq. mi.***	16,632	**Urbanization**	87%	**System of Government**	Constitutional Monarchy
Population	5.3 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	324	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.38%
Life Expectancy	74 men 79 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	6.5%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.6%	**GDP per capita Income**	$23,300	**Inflation**	1.8%
Currency	Krone	**Primary Language(s)**	Danish	**Religion**	Lutheran 91% Protestant + Catholic 2% other 7%
Natural Resources	North Sea – oil and gas, fish; Greenland – fish, zinc, lead, iron ore, coal, molybdenum, cryolite, uranium	**Agriculture**	Meat and dairy products, fish	**Industry**	Industrial and, construction equipment, electronics, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, furniture
Exports	Machinery and instruments, meat, and meat products, chemical products, fish, transport equipment furniture	**Imports**	Machinery and computers, iron, steel, metals, crude oil, and petroleum products		

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Member Nation Profiles

FINLAND

Area ***sq. mi.***	130,1601	**Urbanization**	60%	**System of Government**	Constitutional Monarchy
Population	5.2 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	44	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.15%
Life Expectancy	74 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	100%	**Unemployment**	12%
GDP Real Growth Rate	5.1%	**GDP per capita Income**	$20,100	**Inflation**	1.5%
Currency	Finnmark	**Primary Language(s)**	Finnish Swedish	**Religion**	Lutheran 89% Greek Orthodox 1% other 1% none 9%
Natural Resources	Forests, minerals (copper, zinc, iron), farmland	**Agriculture**	Cereals, livestock and related products, fish	**Industry**	Metal and steel, forest products, chemicals, shipbuilding, foodstuffs, textiles and clothing
Exports	Metals, engineering and electronic products, forestry products, dairy products	**Imports**	Raw materials, consumer goods, investment goods		

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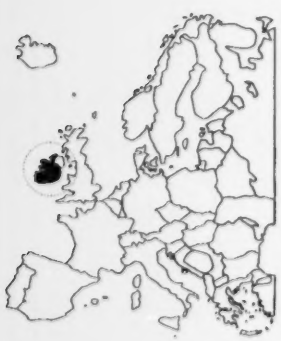
Member Nation Profiles Page 10

IRELAND

Area ***sq. mi.***	27,136	**Urbanization**	57%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary Republic
Population	3.7 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	137	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.38%
Life Expectancy	73 men 79 women	**Literacy Rate**	98%	**Unemployment**	5.8%
GDP Real Growth Rate	9.5%	**GDP per capita Income**	$18,600	**Inflation**	2.4%
Currency	Pound	**Primary Language(s)**	English Gaelic	**Religion**	Catholic 92% Anglican 3% other 5%
Natural Resources	Zinc, lead, natural gas, barite, copper, limestone, dolomite, peat, silver, gold	**Agriculture**	Cattle, meat and dairy products, potatoes, sugar beets, hay, silage, wheat	**Industry**	Food processing, beverages, engineering, computer equipment, textiles and clothing, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, construction
Exports	Computer equipment, chemicals, meat, dairy products, machinery			**Imports**	Grains, petroleum products, machinery, transport equipment, chemicals, textile yarns



Member Nation Profiles

LUXEMBOURG

Area ***sq. mi.***	1,034	**Urbanization**	86%	**System of Government**	Constitutional Monarchy
Population	429,080	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	427	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.88%
Life Expectancy	75 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	100%	**Unemployment**	3%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.9%	**GDP per capita Income**	$32,700	**Inflation**	1.4%
Currency	Franc	**Primary Language(s)**	Letzebuergesch (German dialect spoken in Luxembourg) French German	**Religion**	Catholic 97% Protestant and Jewish 3%
Natural Resources	Iron ore	**Agriculture**	Dairy products, corn, wine	**Industry**	Steel, chemicals
Exports	Steel, plastic, rubber products			**Imports**	Minerals, petroleum products, mechanical and electrical equipment, transportation equipment, scrap metal

Member Nation Profiles

NETHERLANDS

Area ***sq. mi.***	16,464	**Urbanization**	89%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary Democracy under Constitutional Monarchy
Population	15.8 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	1,197	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.47%
Life Expectancy	75 men 81 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	4.1%
GDP Real Growth Rate	3.7%	**GDP per capita Income**	$22,200	**Inflation**	2%
Currency	Gulden	**Primary Language(s)**	Dutch French	**Religion**	Catholic 34% Protestant 25% Muslim 3% other 2% unaff. 36%
Natural Resources	Natural gas, petroleum, fertile soil	**Agriculture**	Dairy, poultry, meat, flower bulbs, cut flowers, vegetables, fruits, sugar beets, potatoes, grains	**Industry**	Steel, meat, products, electronics, bulk chemicals, natural gas, petroleum, products transport equipment
Exports	Mineral fuels and petroleum products, machinery, chemical			**Imports**	Mineral fuels and petroleum products, machinery, chemical products, foodstuffs

Member Nation Profiles

PORTUGAL

Area ***sq. mi.***	36,390	**Urbanization**	34%	**System of Government**	Parliamentary Republic
Population	9.9 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	280	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	-.13%
Life Expectancy	72 men 79 women	**Literacy Rate**	85%	**Unemployment**	5%
GDP Real Growth Rate	4.2%	**GDP per capita Income**	$14,600	**Inflation**	2.8%
Currency	Escudo	**Primary Language(s)**	Portuguese	**Religion**	Catholic 97% Protestant 1% other 2%
Natural Resources	Fish, cork, tungsten, iron, copper, tin, uranium, ore	**Agriculture**	Forestry, fishery	**Industry**	Textiles, clothing, footwear, construction, food, beverages, tobacco
Exports	Clothing, footwear, electrical machinery and appliances, automobiles	**Imports**	Electrical and non-electrical machinery, automobiles, fuel, appliances		

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Member Nation Profiles

SPAIN

Area ***sq. mi.***	194,884	**Urbanization**	79%	**System of Government**	Constitutinal Monarchy
Population	39 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	204	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.01%
Life Expectancy	74 men 82 women	**Literacy Rate**	95%	**Unemployment**	20%
GDP Real Growth Rate	3.5%	**GDP per capita Income**	$16,500	**Inflation**	2%
Currency	Peseta	**Primary Language(s)**	Spanish Katalan Basque	**Religion**	Catholic 99% other 1%
Natural Resources	Coal, lignite iron, ore, uranium, mercury, pyrites, zinc, lead, copper, kaolin, hydroelectric power	**Agriculture**	Grains, vegetables, citrus and deciduous fruits, wine, olives, and olive oil, sunflowers, livestock	**Industry**	Processed foods, textiles, footwear, petrochemicals, steel, automobiles, consumer goods, electronics
Exports	Automobiles, fruits, minerals, metals, clothing, footwear, textiles	**Imports**	Petroleum, oilseeds, aircraft, grains, chemicals, machinery, transportation equipment		

Member Nation Profiles

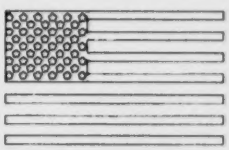
SWEDEN

Area ***sq. mi.***	173,732	**Urbanization**	84%	**System of Government**	Parlamentary Monarchy
Population	8.9 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	56	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.27%
Life Expectancy	77 men 82 women	**Literacy Rate**	99%	**Unemployment**	2%
GDP Real Growth Rate	2.9%	**GDP per capita Income**	$19,700	**Inflation**	4.7% (1993)
Currency	Krone	**Primary Language(s)**	Swedish	**Religion**	Lutheran 94% Catholic 1.5% other 4.5%
Natural Resources	Forests, iron, ore, hydroelectric, energy	**Agriculture**	Dairy farming and livestock, grains, potatoes, sugar beets	**Industry**	Iron and steel, machinery manufacturing, wood pulp, automobiles, chemicals (explosives, fertilizers, plastics)
Exports	Engineering products, wood, pulp and paper, iron, ore, steel			**Imports**	Coal, petroleum and foodstuffs

Nation Profiles

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Area ***sq. mi.***	3,615,122	**Urbanization**	75.2%	**System of Government**	Representative Democracy
Population	273 million	**Population Density** ***per sq. mi.***	76	**Annual Population Growth Rate**	.85%
Life Expectancy	73 men 80 women	**Literacy Rate**	97%	**Unemployment**	4.5%
GDP Real Growth Rate	3.9%	**GDP per capita Income**	$31,500	**Inflation**	1.6%
Currency	Dollar	**Primary Language(s)**	English	**Religion**	Protestant 56% Catholic 28% Jewish 2% other 4% none 10%
Natural Resources	Coal, iron ore, natural gas, petroleum, bauxite, building stone, copper, lead, potash, phosphorus uranium, water	**Agriculture**	Cattle, corn, cotton, diary products, hogs, poultry and eggs, sorghum, soybeans, tobacco, wheat	**Industry**	Chemicals, clothing, electrical goods, machinery, foodstuffs, metals and metal products, paper, printed matter, textiles, transportation equipment
Exports	Raw materials, (ores, fibers, grains), food and live animals, machinery, transportation equipment	**Imports**	Fuel, food and live animals, machinery, transportation equipment		



EU Data Summary Chart

COUNTRY	Population Density	Urban Areas	GDP Real Income	Inflation	Unemploy-ment
Austria					
Belgium					
Denmark					
Finland					
France					
Germany					
Great Britain					
Greece					
Ireland					
Italy					
Luxembourg					
Netherlands					
Portugal					
Spain					
Sweden					
United States					

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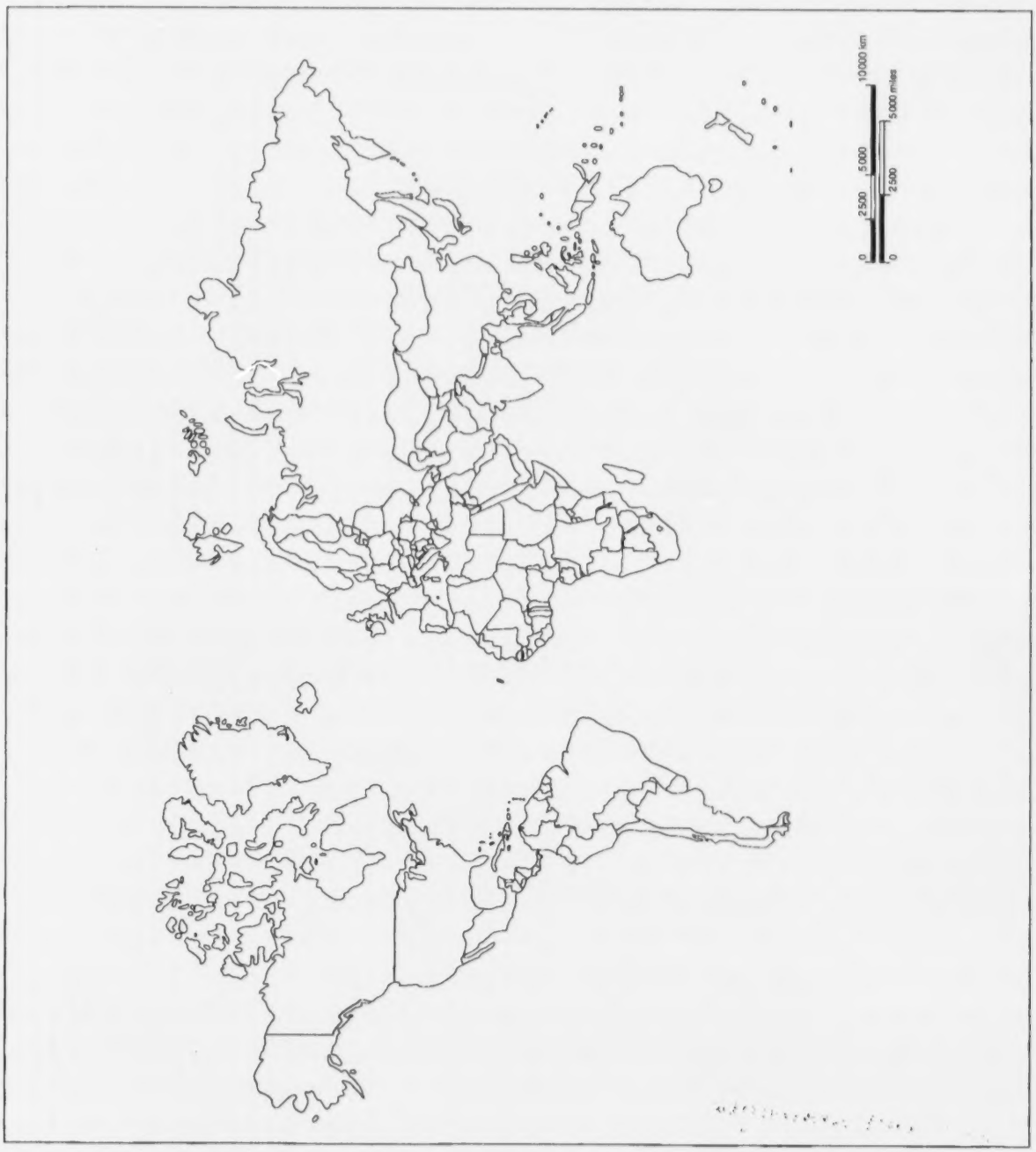
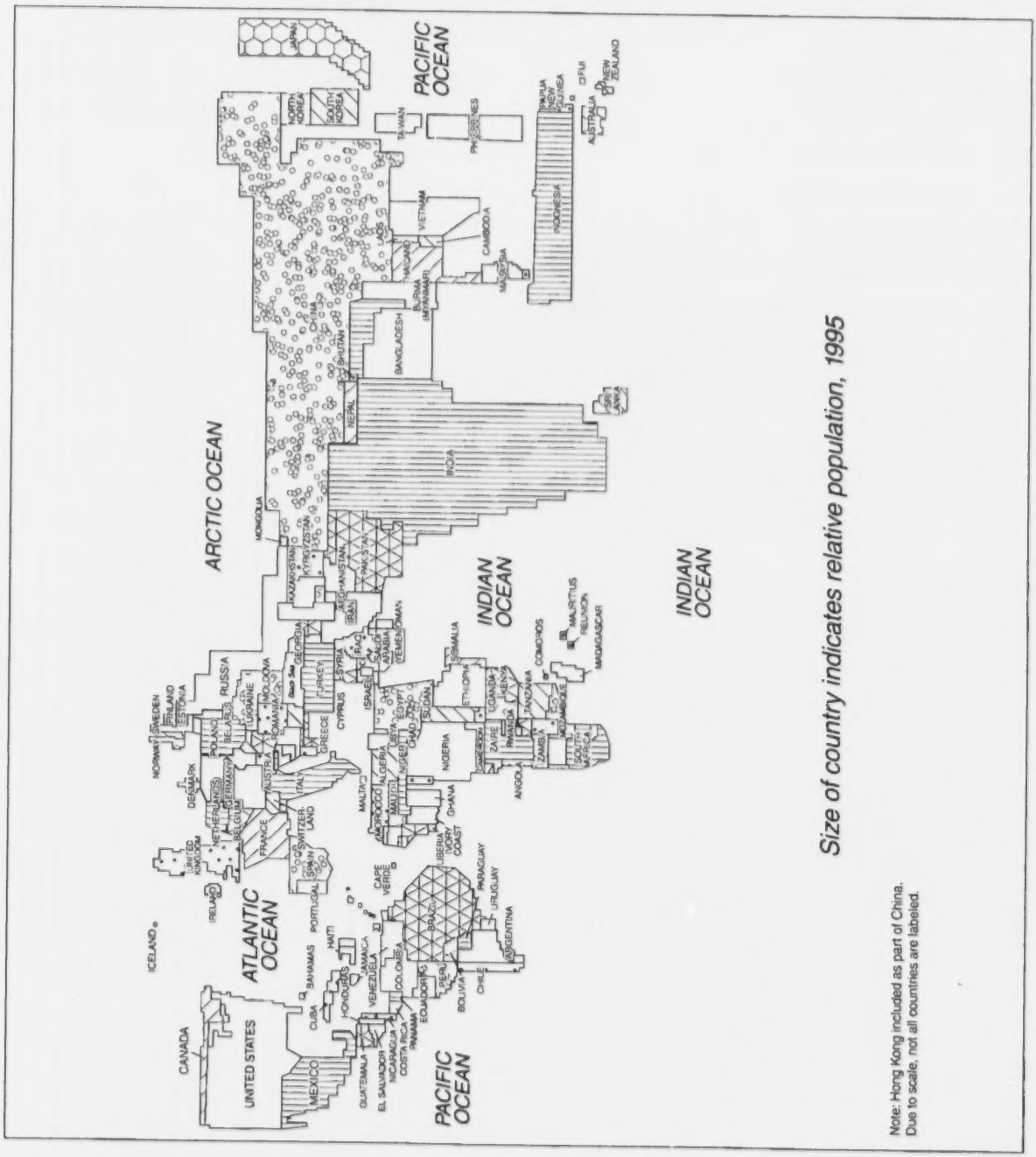
Country Size by Land Area



Country Size by Population



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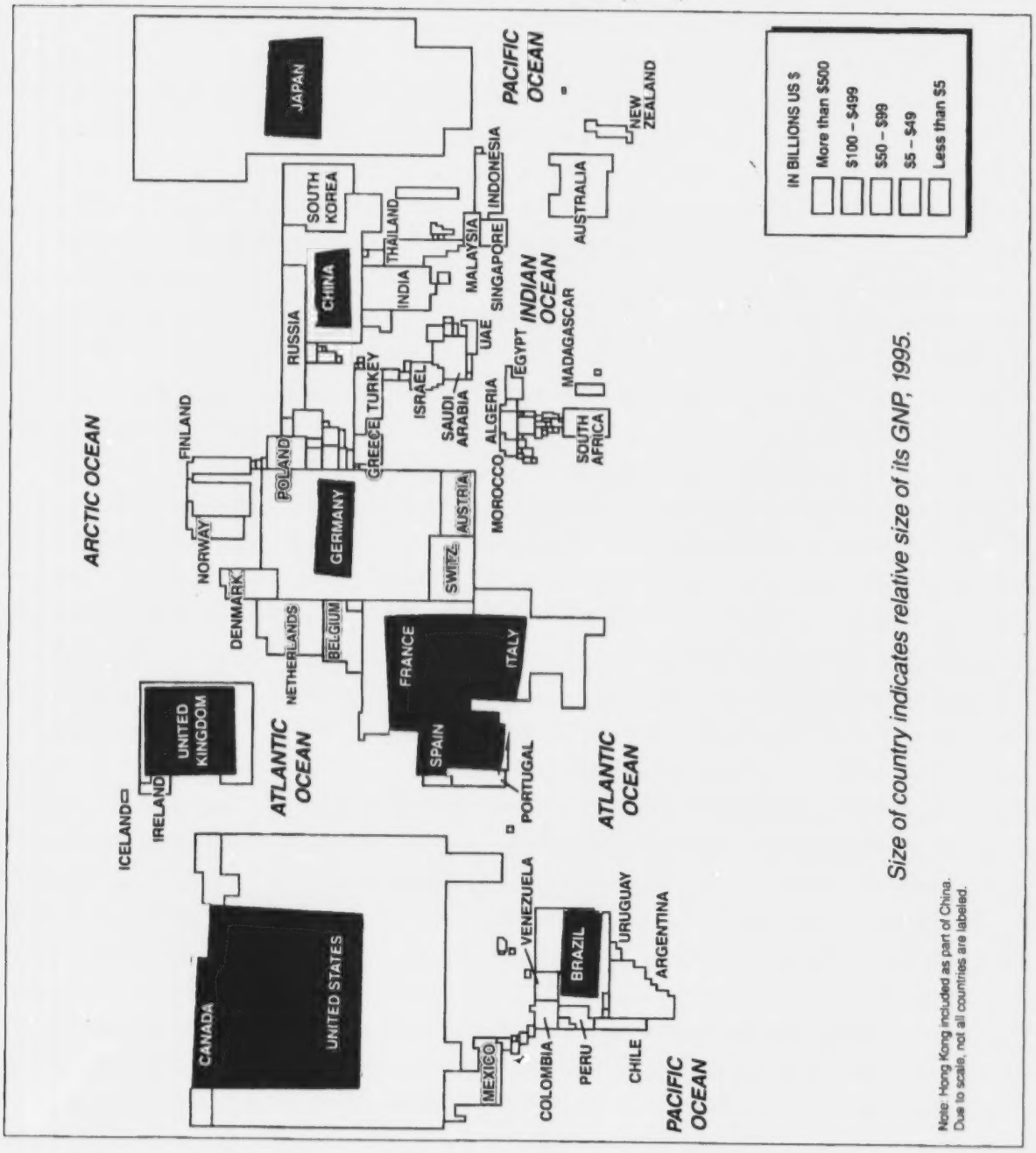
Country Size by Gross National Product



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EU Begins Enlargement Process for 11 Candidates

Associated Press
Brussels, Belgium

The European Union started the process of absorbing 11 new members ..., a task Britain's foreign secretary called a milestone in healing the wounds inflicted by world war. "By enlarging the European Union, we are finally overcoming the cruel and unnatural division of our continent," said Robin Cook ... "We are creating the conditions that will help prevent a return to the terrible suffering and destruction Europe has known this century," he told foreign ministers from the 15 EU countries and 11 applicants to kick off what promises to be a decade of negotiations in some cases.

The toughest part of enlargement may not be reuniting a Europe long divided by war and ideology, but by trying to negotiate with just half a country – Cyprus. Poland has enormous economic problems, the Czech Republic must fight corruption and Slovenia has to deal with value added taxes, but Cyprus presents the EU with one of the most intractable problems in Europe – the division of the island between Turkish and Greek communities.

The EU decided to proceed with negotiations with the Greek Cypriot government, feeling not to do so would be holding the Greek half hostage to a Turkish Cypriot minority in the north. "We consider the [EU] accession process to be the new element that didn't exist before that will motivate both sides to solve the Cyprus problem," said Cyprus Foreign Minister Ioannis Kasoulides. Nevertheless, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash has spurned offers to join Cyprus' negotiating team, saying he would only do so if his Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized only by Turkey, is treated as an equal. He said the EU has "destroyed the chances of a fair settlement in Cyprus by treating one of the equals as the governor of the other."

Only six candidates [of the 11 applicants] are considered ready to begin serious negotiations – Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Estonia and Cyprus. The other five – Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria – participated in the symbolic ceremony ... Talks will likely go on for five or more years, beginning with a review of existing EU legislation and steps prospective members will have to take to integrate that into their own systems.

Lesson 3 How do geographic size and population density impact life in Germany and member states of the European Union?

Lesson Objective

The student will describe the variations in geographic size and population density of members of the European Union.

Materials and Resources

- Transparency 5 "Satellite Photo of Europe"
- Transparency 6 "Outline Map of the United States"
- Transparency 7 "Europe Political Overlay"
- Transparency 8 "The Fifty States"
- Transparency 9 "Flags of the European Union Member States"
- Teacher Resource 1.2 "Population Statistics on the United States"
- Teacher Resource 1.3 "Population Statistics on the European States"

Strategies

A working knowledge of the relative location and size of the nations of Europe, both members and non-members of the European Union, is an important component in understanding the political and economic relationships among these countries. This activity allows students to gain a better understanding of the role of physical and cultural geography in European politics.

Begin this lesson by placing Transparency 5, "Satellite Photo of Europe" on the overhead projector. Ask students if they believe Europe to be larger or smaller than the United States. Count the votes. Next, alternatively superimpose the two maps from Transparency 6, "Outline Map of the United States" over the photo of Europe. Have students decide which map shows the correct size comparison of the United States and Europe [answer-the smaller U.S. map]. Explain that Europe is geographically larger than the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii (United States = 3,615,202 sq. mi./Europe = 4,063,000 sq. mi). Europe's eastern border is formed by the Ural Mountains and the Ural River which flows into the Caspian Sea. The population of Europe is 640 million vs. the United States population of 270 million.

Next, superimpose Transparency 7, "Europe Political Overlay" on the photo of Europe. Ask students to note physical features of Europe which are also politi-

cal boundaries. Place the outline map of the United States, Transparency 8, "The Fifty States," on the photo of Europe. Point out the relative size of your state compared to Germany. Show that it is larger/smaller. Write down the respective square mileage of each on the blackboard. Compare your state to the other European countries that are easily identifiable (e.g., Great Britain, Italy, Spain, France, Denmark). Note the central location of Germany on the continent. Have students identify the countries bordering Germany (there are nine). Germany shares a border with more countries than any other single country in Europe.

Next, align the map of the United States and the map of Europe superimposed along the 49th parallel which is indicated on the map of Europe by the line of dots stretching in an arc across the center of Europe. Show that the United States lies far more to the south than most of the European countries, and that Central and Northern Europe lie north, often far north of the U.S./Canadian border. Use a world wall map to compare the latitudes of well-known European cities and United States cities. Compare climates; explain that the Gulf Stream creates the differences. Return to the overhead projector and point out that Miami lies about 300 miles south of the pyramids of Giza, that Boston lies on a similar latitude as Rome, and that much of the Southwest is on the same latitude as the Sahara.

Finally, provide students with information on population density in the United States and in Europe using your state as a familiar point of reference.

	Area in square miles	*Population*	*Population per square mile*
United States	3,615,202	273.0 million	69.0
Europe	4,063,000	640.0 million	157.5
Germany	137,788	82.0 million	610.0
Montana	145,388	.8 million	5.5
Your State	*See Teacher Resource 1.1*		

Mark off an area of the classroom floor approximately 6 feet by 6 feet in size. Explain that this represents the combined land area of the states of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Ask three participants to stand in this area and explain that this represents the population of the three states (approximately 14.2 million people). Now add fifteen more participants to the same area. Explain that this represents the population of Germany (82 million people) on the same amount of land. Discuss with students the impact of population density on the lifestyle of the people living there. Teacher Resource 1.2, "Population Statistics on the United States" and Teacher Resource 1.3, "Population Statistics on the European States" provide additional data for comparing other European nations and your state. Transparency 9 contains pictures of the flags of the members of the European Union.

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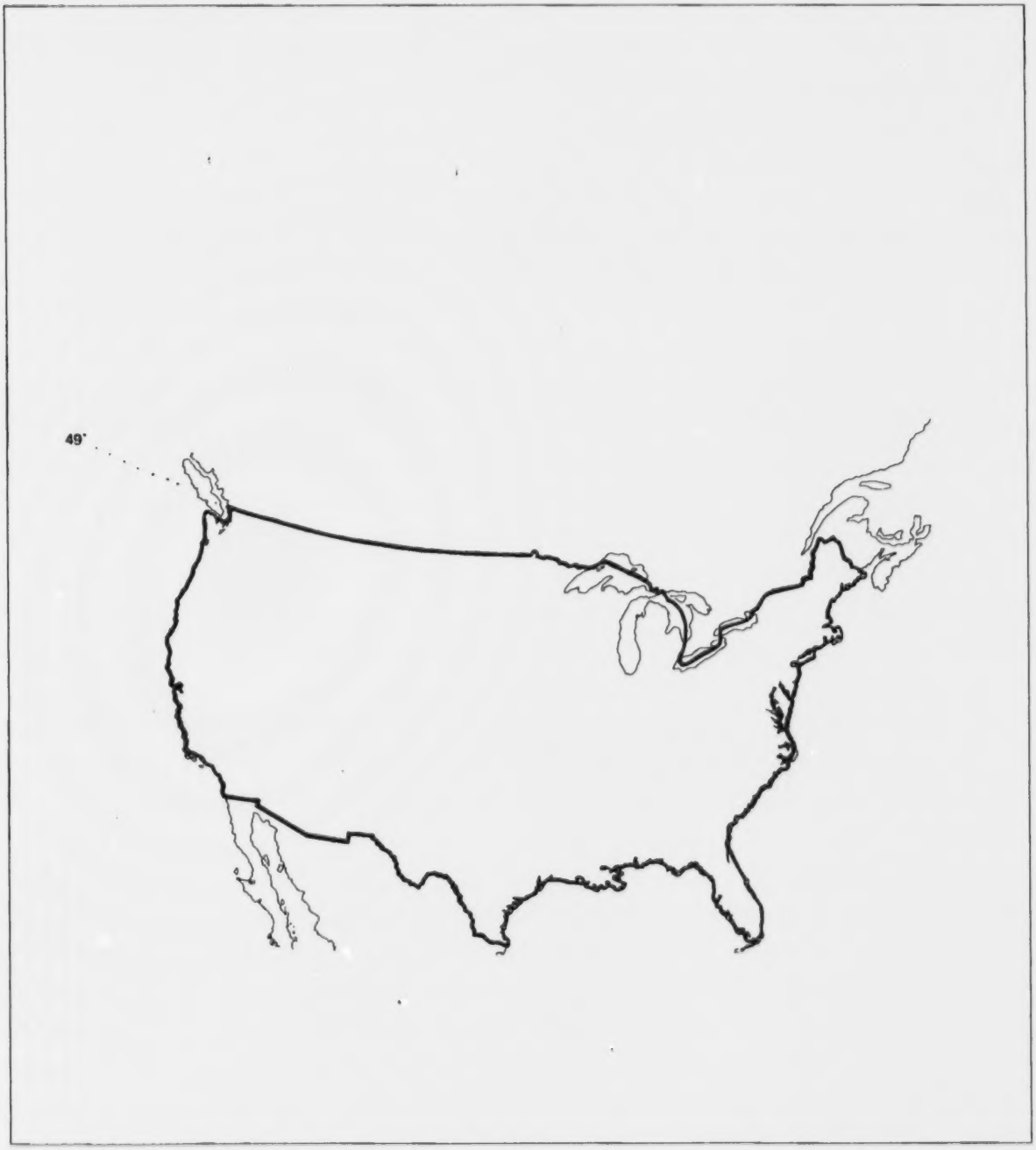
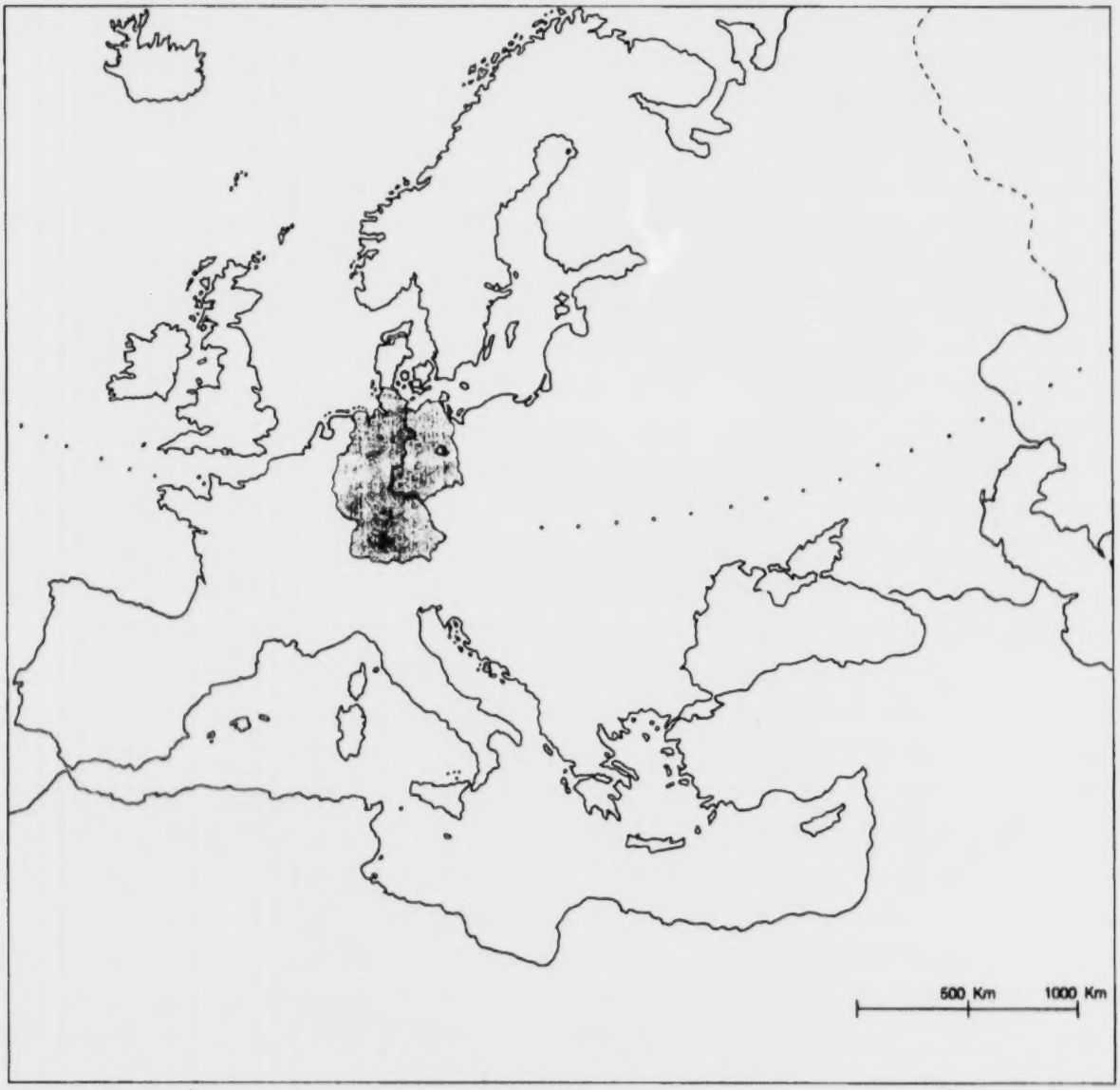
Satellite Photo of Europe

Outline Map of the United States



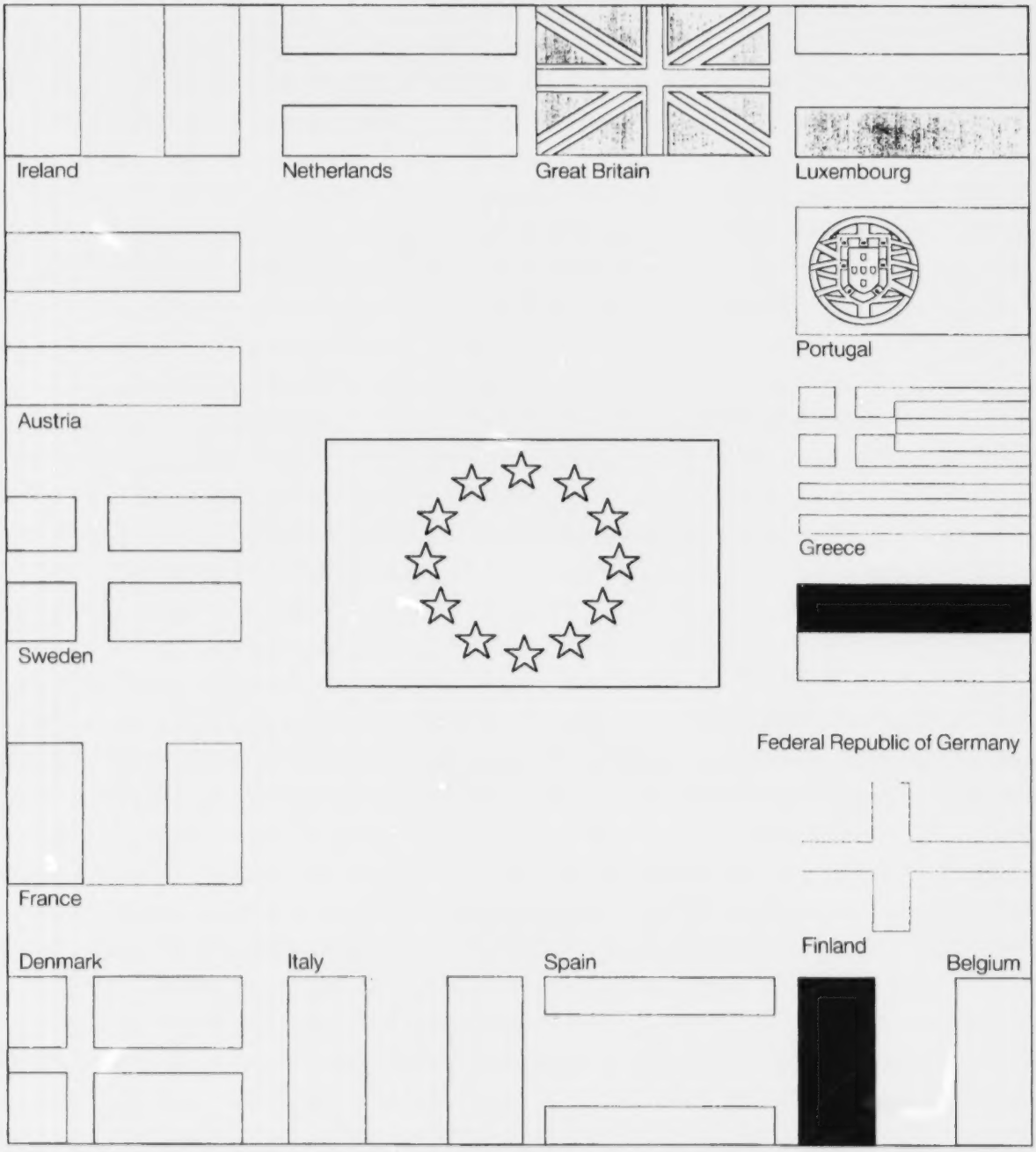
Outline Map of the United States Page 2

Europe Political Overlay



The Fifty States

Flags of the European Union Member States



Population Statistics on the United States

States of the United States in Alphabetical Order	Area in Square Miles	Population 1992	Population per Square Mile
Alabama	50,766	4,136,00	81.5
Alaska	570,833	587,000	1.1
Arizona	113,510	3,832,000	33.8
Arkansas	63,187	2,399,000	37.9
California	156,297	30,867,000	197.5
Colorado	103,598	3,470,000	33.5
Connecticut	.4,872	3,281,000	673.4
Delaware	1,933	689,000	356.4
Florida	54,157	13,488,000	249.1
Georgia	58,060	6,751,000	116.2
Hawaii	6,427	1,160,000	180.5
Idaho	82,413	1,067,000	12.9
Illinois	55,646	11,631,000	209.1
Indiana	33,963	5,662,000	157.4
Iowa	55,965	2,812,000	50.2
Kansas	81,783	2,528,000	30.9
Kentucky	39,674	3,755,000	94.6
Louisiana	44,520	4,287,000	96.3
Maine	30,995	1,235,000	39.8
Maryland	9,838	4,908,000	498.9
Massachusetts	7,826	5,998,000	766.4
Michigan	56,959	9,437,000	165.7
Minnesota	79,548	4,480,000	56.3
Mississippi	47,234	2,614,000	55.3
Missouri	68,945	5,193,000	75.3

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Population Statistics on the United States

States of the United States in Alphabetical Order	Area in Square Miles	Population 1992	Population per Square Mile
Montana	145,388	824,000	5.7
Nebraska	76,639	1,606,000	20.9
Nevada	109,895	1,327,000	12.1
New Hampshire	8,992	1,111,000	123.6
New Jersey	7,468	7,789,000	1,042.9
New Mexico	121,336	1,581,000	13.1
New York	47,379	18,119,000	382.4
North Carolina	48,843	6,843,000	140.1
North Dakota	60,299	636,000	10.5
Ohio	41,004	11,016,000	268.7
Oklahoma	68,656	3,212,000	46.8
Oregon	96,187	2,977,000	30.9
Pennsylvania	44,892	12,009,000	267.5
Rhode Island	1,054	1,005,000	953.5
South Carolina	30,207	3,603,000	119.3
South Dakota	75,956	711,000	9.4
Tennessee	41,154	5,024,000	122.1
Texas	262,015	17,656,000	67.4
Utah	82,076	1,813,000	22.1
Vermont	9,273	570,000	61.5
Virginia	39,700	6,377,000	160.6
Washington	66,512	5,136,000	77.2
West Virginia	24,124	1,812,000	75.1
Wisconsin	54,424	5,007,000	91.9
Wyoming	96,988	466,000	4.8

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Population Statistics on the European States

States of the European Union in Alphabetical Order	Area in Square Miles	Population 1996	Population per Square Mile
Austria	32,377	8,100,000	253
Belgium	11,799	10,200,000	847
Denmark	16,632	5,300,000	324
Germany	137,821	82,300,000	610
Greece	51,146	11,500,000	211
Finland	130,160	5,700,000	44
France	220,668	59,000,000	277
Ireland	27,136	3,700,000	137
Italy	116,303	58,000,000	508
Luxembourg	1,034	418,300	427
The Netherlands	16,464	15,700,000	1,197
Portugal	36,390	9,900,000	280
Spain	194,884	41,000,000	204
Sweden	173,732	8,900,000	56
United Kingdom	94,251	60,000,000	634

United States of America	*3,615,122*	*270,000,000*	*76*

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Lesson 4 How is the European Union governed?

Lesson Objective
The student will examine the organizational structure of the European Union.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 1.4 "Governing Institutions of the European Union"
- Worksheet 1.3 "Comparing Governments"
- Teacher Resource 1.4 "Comparing the Governments of the EU and the US"
- Transparency 10 "The Functioning of the European Union"
- Transparency 11 "How European Laws Are Made"
- Transparency 12 "How a Bill Becomes a Law in the United States"

Strategies

The idea of the European Union was born from a profound conviction that the suffering of the two world wars must never be repeated. The idea was that if the individual nations cooperated in various fields and pursued joint goals, warlike conflicts could no longer break out. In that respect, the European Union has proved a complete success. Never before has Western Europe been spared the scourge of war for so many years. From this perspective, great importance is attached to the integration of countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the longer term.

In February 1992, the Heads of State or Government of the member states of the European Community signed the Treaty on European Union in Maastricht. Its entry into force in November 1993 marked the creation of the European Union which seeks the closer political cooperation between member states. The Maastricht Treaty makes provisions for both an Economic and Monetary Union and a political union. The Treaty defines the terms of reference of the Union, increases the powers of the European Parliament, deepens the social dimension of the Union and creates a citizenship of the Union. It seeks a common external and security policy of the member states and strengthens cooperation between them in the areas of justice and home affairs.

How is the European Union governed? To help students answer this question, distribute Handout 1.4, "Governing Institutions of the European Union" for students to read as well as a paper copy of Transparency 10, "The Functioning of the European Union". A copy of Worksheet 1.3, "Comparing Governments" should be distributed to teams of two students. Using the reading, the diagram, and their knowledge of the structure of the United States government, students should complete the chart looking for similarities between the two systems. The teacher should point out that the institutions within the two systems will not be a perfect match, but students should look for similarities in the functions of the two bodies. Teacher Resource 1.4, "Comparing the Gov-

ernments of the EU and the US" presents a completed version of the worksheet which the teacher may turn into a transparency.

After completing the activity, a concluding discussion may center around questions such as the following.

- What is the main difference between the Congress and the European Parliament with regard to initiating legislation?
- Similarly, what are the main differences between the two executive branches with regard to legislation?
- What are the significant differences and difficulties in devising legislation for individual countries in Europe as opposed to legislation that affects individual states in the USA?

As a follow-up activity, have students use Transparencies 11 "How European Laws Are Made" and Transparency 12 "How a Bill Becomes a Law in the United States" to trace the progress of a bill as it makes its way through the system. What steps are similar and different as the legislation attempts to become law?

Governing Institutions of the European Union

What is the European Union?
The European Union is an institutional framework for forging unity and cooperation among European countries. It is a new stage in a process begun in the 1950s with the creation of three original European Organizations, which came to be known collectively as the European Community.

Unification was launched in the wake of World War II, as a devastated Western Europe sought ways to rebuild its economy and prevent future wars. The Union constitutes a unique relationship among nations. It used to be referred to as the Common Market because it is a single trading entity. But it was always much more than that. The European Community was a political creation from the outset, committed by its founding treaties to seek an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.

The Union is often compared to the United States, and there are some similarities. Member countries have agreed to pool some of their sovereign powers for the sake of unity, just as American states did to create a federal republic. In fields where such pooling of national sovereignty has occurred – for example, in trade and agriculture – the Union negotiates directly with the United States and other countries. Member states retain their sovereign powers in such fields as security and defense, although they have agreed to take joint actions in foreign and security policy under the new Union. Although the US federal model continues to inspire the search for political unity, Europe is constructing its own model for unification, ensuring respect for its richest asset – the historical, cultural and linguistic diversity of the European nations.

Governing Institutions
The European Union is governed by five institutions – the Commission, Council of Ministers, Parliament, Court of Justice, and Court of Auditors. In addition, Heads of State and Government and the Commission President meet at least twice a year in European Council summits to provide overall strategy and political direction. The European Council Presidency rotates among member states every six months, as does the Council of Ministers' Presidency.

The governing system, novel in its conception and unique in its assignment of powers, differs from all previous national and international models. Unlike the United States, the EU is founded on international treaties among sovereign nations rather than a Constitution. The power to enact laws that are directly binding on all EU citizens throughout the EU territory also distinguishes the Union from other international organizations.

The Union has been described as a supranational entity. The member states have relinquished part of their national sovereignty to the EU institutions. The member states work together, in their collective interest, through the joint administration of their sovereign powers. The Union also operates according to the principle of "subsidiary," which characterizes most federal systems. Under this principle, the Union is granted jurisdiction only for those policies that cannot be handled effectively at lower levels of government, i.e., national, regional, or local.

The EU system is inherently evolutionary; it was designed to allow for the gradual development of European unification and has not yet achieved its final form.

European Parliament
The European Parliament is composed of 626 members, directly elected in EU-wide elections for five-year terms. The President of the Parliament is elected for a two-and-a-half year term. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) form political rather than national groups. Currently the European Socialist group is the largest with 271 seats in the 1994–1999 Parliament.

The European Parliament cannot enact laws like national parliaments. However, its legislative role

Governing Institutions of the European Union

has been strengthened over the years, most recently by the Maastricht Treaty, whose co-decision procedure empowered Parliament to veto legislation in certain policy areas. Earlier, the Single European Act gave Parliament the right to amend proposals for legislation (cooperation procedure), and gave it veto power over the accession of new member states and the conclusion of association treaties with third countries (assent procedure).

European Council
The European Council brings together Heads of State and Government and the President of the Commission. It meets at least twice a year, at the end of each EU member state's six-month presidency of the Council. The Single European Act formalized the European Council, which was not foreseen in the original EC treaties.

Council of the European Union
The Council of Ministers enacts EU laws, acting on proposals submitted by the Commission. Since the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty, its official name is the Council of the European Union.

Made up of Ministers from each member state, it is in the Council that a balance is struck between national and Union interests. Different Ministers participate in the Council according to the subject under discussion. Agricultural Ministers, for example discuss farm prices in the Agricultural Council, and the Economic and Finance Ministers discuss monetary affairs in the Ecofin Council. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs provide overall coordination in the General Affairs Council. They are also responsible for foreign policy in the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Each Government acts as a President of the Council for six months in rotation. The Council can alter the Commission's legislative proposals only by unanimous agreement. The Council is assisted in its work by a Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreoer), which is composed of member state officials holding ambassadorial rank, and a Secretariat, with a staff of about 2,000.

The European Commission
The Commission is the policy engine. It proposes legislation, is responsible for administration, and ensures that the provisions of the treaties and the decisions of the institutions are properly implemented. It has investigative powers, and can take action against persons, companies, or member states that violate EU rules. It manages the budget and represents the Union in international trade negotiations.

The 20 Commissioners – two each from France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom, and one from each of the other member states – are appointed for five-year terms, in line with the European Parliament which has the power to approve the appointment of the Commission as a body. The Commission President is appointed by agreement among the member governments in consultation with the European Parliament for a term of five years. Up to two Vice-Presidents are appointed from among the Commissioners.

The Commissioners act in the Union's interest, independent of the national governments which nominated them. Each is assigned one or more policy areas and is assisted by a small cabinet or team of aides. The Commission's administrative staff, based mainly in Brussels, numbers about 15,000, divided among more than 25 "directorates-general" and other administrative services. Since the EU has eleven official languages, about 20 percent of the Commission staff are translators and interpreters.

Court of Justice
The Court of Justice, sitting in Luxembourg, is the Community's "Supreme Court." It ensures that the treaties are interpreted and applied correctly by other EU institutions and by the member states. The Court comprises 15 judges, one from each member state, appointed for renewable terms of six years. Judgments of the Court in the field of EC law are binding on EU institutions, member states, national courts, companies, and private citizens.

Since 1988 the Court of Justice has been assisted by a Court of First instance, consisting of 15 mem-

Governing Institutions of the European Union

bers. This court has power to hear actions brought by EU officials, competition and coal and steel cases, and actions for damages. It's decisions are subject to appeal to the Court of Justice on points of law only.

Court of Auditors
The Court of Auditors, based in Luxembourg, supervises expenditures. It's 15 members are appointed by the Council, after consulting the Parliament, for renewable six-year terms. The Court, which began operating in 1977, has extensive powers to examine the legality and regularity of receipts and expenditures and the sound financial management of the EU budget.

Other EU Bodies
Before the adoption of new legislation, the Commission and the Council consult with other EU bodies on the anticipated economic, social and regional impacts of proposed laws. In addition, the EU has set up a number of new agencies for its activities in important new areas.

The Economic and Social Committee (Brussels)
A 222-member consultative body, representing labor, employers, agriculture, consumer and professional associations.

Committee of the Regions (Brussels)
A 222-member advisory body, consisting of representatives of regional and local bodies.

European Investment Bank (Luxembourg)
Finances investments in line with EU objectives. For example, in the past this body has granted low interest loans to member states.

Community Plant Variety Office (Brussels)

European Agency for Health and Safety at Work (Luxembourg)

European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products (London)

European Environmental Agency (Copenhagen)
A repository of environmental data.

European Central Bank (Frankfurt)

European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (Lisbon)

European Police Office (EUROPOL) (The Hague)
For police coordination among EU member states.

European Training Foundation (Turin)
For Central and Eastern Europe.

Office for Harmonization of the Internal Market (Alicante)
To simplify trademark registration.

Office for Veterinary and Plant Health Inspection and Control (Dublin)

Majority Voting in the EU Council
The Council takes most decisions by qualified majority (QMV). Unanimity is still required for areas like amendments to the treaties, taxation, the launching of a new common policy, the admission of a new member state, or the new Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Five member states and 25 votes are necessary for a blocking minority.

Governing Institutions of the European Union

Member State	Number of Votes
France Germany Italy United Kingdom	10
Spain	8
Belgium Greece Netherlands Portugal	5
Austria Sweden	4
Denmark Finland Ireland	3
Luxembourg	2
Unanimity	87

Source: The European Union and the United States in the 1990's. Delegation of the European Commission in the United States, Washington, DC, April 1996

Comparing Governments

	UNITED STATES	EUROPEAN UNION
Executive Branch	PRESIDENT	
	CABINET	
Legislative Branch	CONGRESS	
Judicial Branch	SUPREME COURT	

Comparing Governments

	UNITED STATES	EUROPEAN UNION
Executive Branch	**PRESIDENT** Head of State; serves for four years	**EUROPEAN COUNCIL** 15 Heads of State or of Government; each member state has a six-month presidency of the Council
	CABINET Heads of executive departments appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate to provide advice to the President in specific areas; cabinet members do not play a formal role in the legislative process	**COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION** Made up of Ministers from each member state to enact laws; membership changes according to the issue under discussion; if there is a unanimous agreement, the Council can alter the Commission legislative proposals **EUROPEAN COMMISSION** 20 members; proposes legislation; monitors compliance with European Union rules; manages the budget
Legislative Branch	**CONGRESS** House of Representatives (435 members) and Senate (100 members); legislation may originate in House; system of checks and balances applies	**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT** 626 members; cannot enact laws but can veto legislation in certain policy areas
Judicial Branch	**SUPREME COURT** 9 justices serve for life; resolves disputes involving Constitutional issues	**COURT OF JUSTICE** 15 judges serve 6-year terms; monitor compliance with European Union policies

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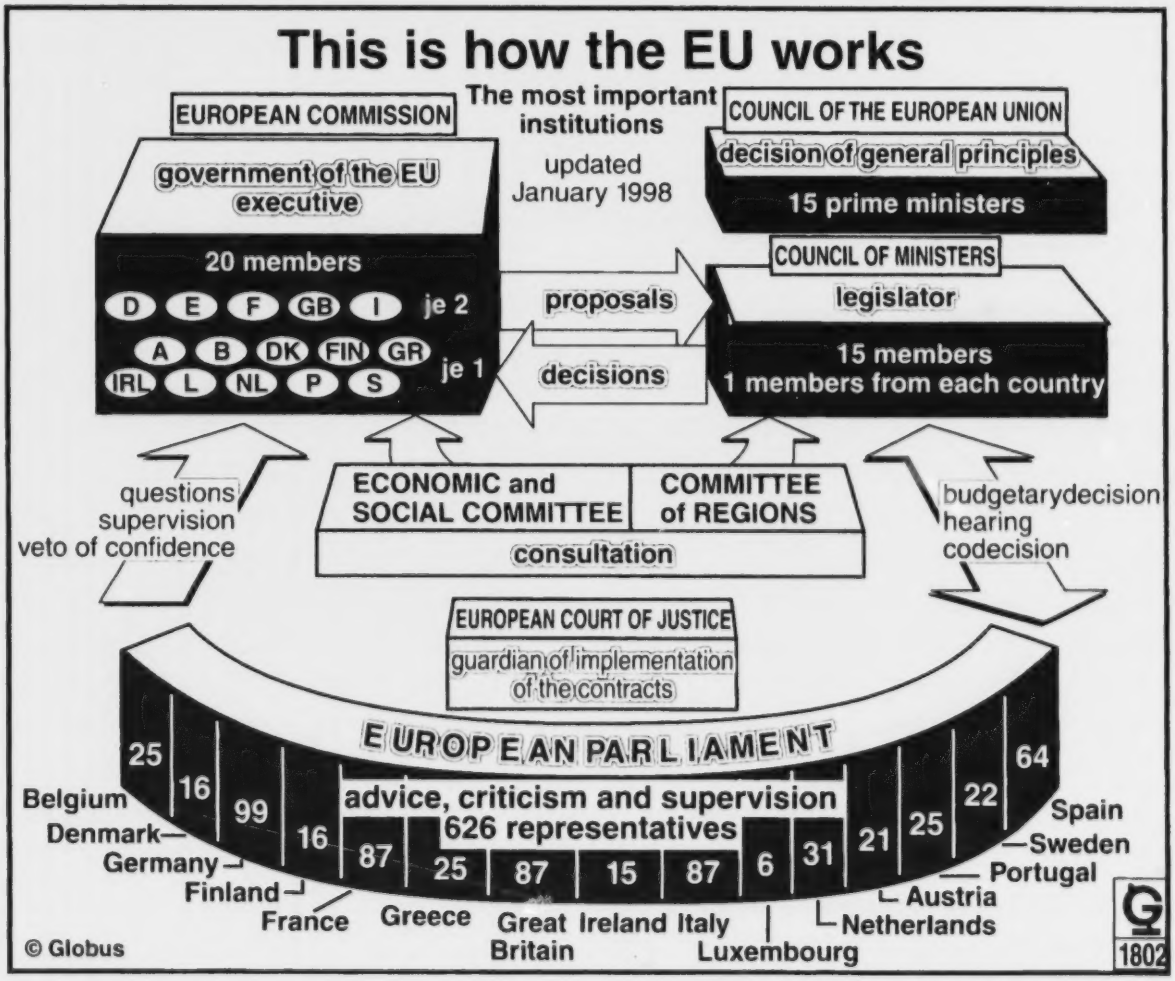
The Functioning of the European Union



(updated and translated by Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes)

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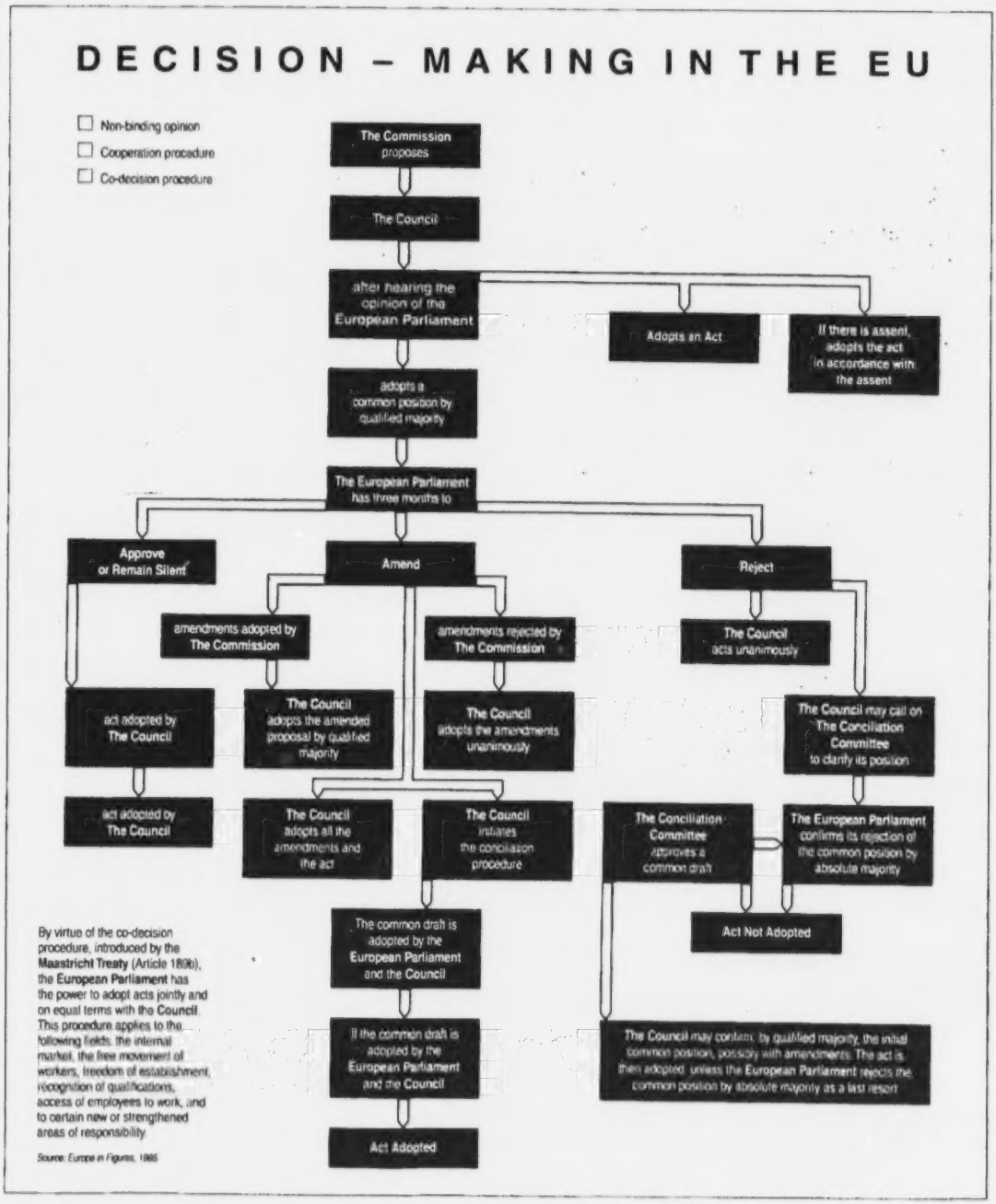
How European Laws Are Made


DECISION – MAKING IN THE EU
Non-binding opinion
Cooperation procedure
Co-decision procedure
The Commission proposes
The Council
after hearing the opinion of the European Parliament
Adopts an Act
If there is assent, adopts the act in accordance with the assent
adopts a common position by qualified majority
The European Parliament has three months to
Approve or Remain Silent
Amend
Reject
amendments adopted by The Commission
amendments rejected by The Commission
The Council acts unanimously
act adopted by The Council
The Council adopts the amended proposal by qualified majority
The Council adopts the amendments unanimously
The Council may call on The Conciliation Committee to clarify its position
act adopted by The Council
The Council adopts all the amendments and the act
The Council initiates the conciliation procedure
The Conciliation Committee approves a common draft
The European Parliament confirms its rejection of the common position by absolute majority
Act Not Adopted
The common draft is adopted by the European Parliament and the Council
If the common draft is adopted by the European Parliament and the Council
Act Adopted
The Council may confirm, by qualified majority, the initial common position, possibly with amendments. The act is then adopted, unless the European Parliament rejects the common position by absolute majority as a last resort
By virtue of the co-decision procedure, introduced by the Maastricht Treaty (Article 189b), the European Parliament has the power to adopt acts jointly and on equal terms with the Council. This procedure applies to the following fields: the internal market, the free movement of workers, freedom of establishment, recognition of qualifications, access of employees to work, and to certain new or strengthened areas of responsibility
Source: Europe in Figures, 1995

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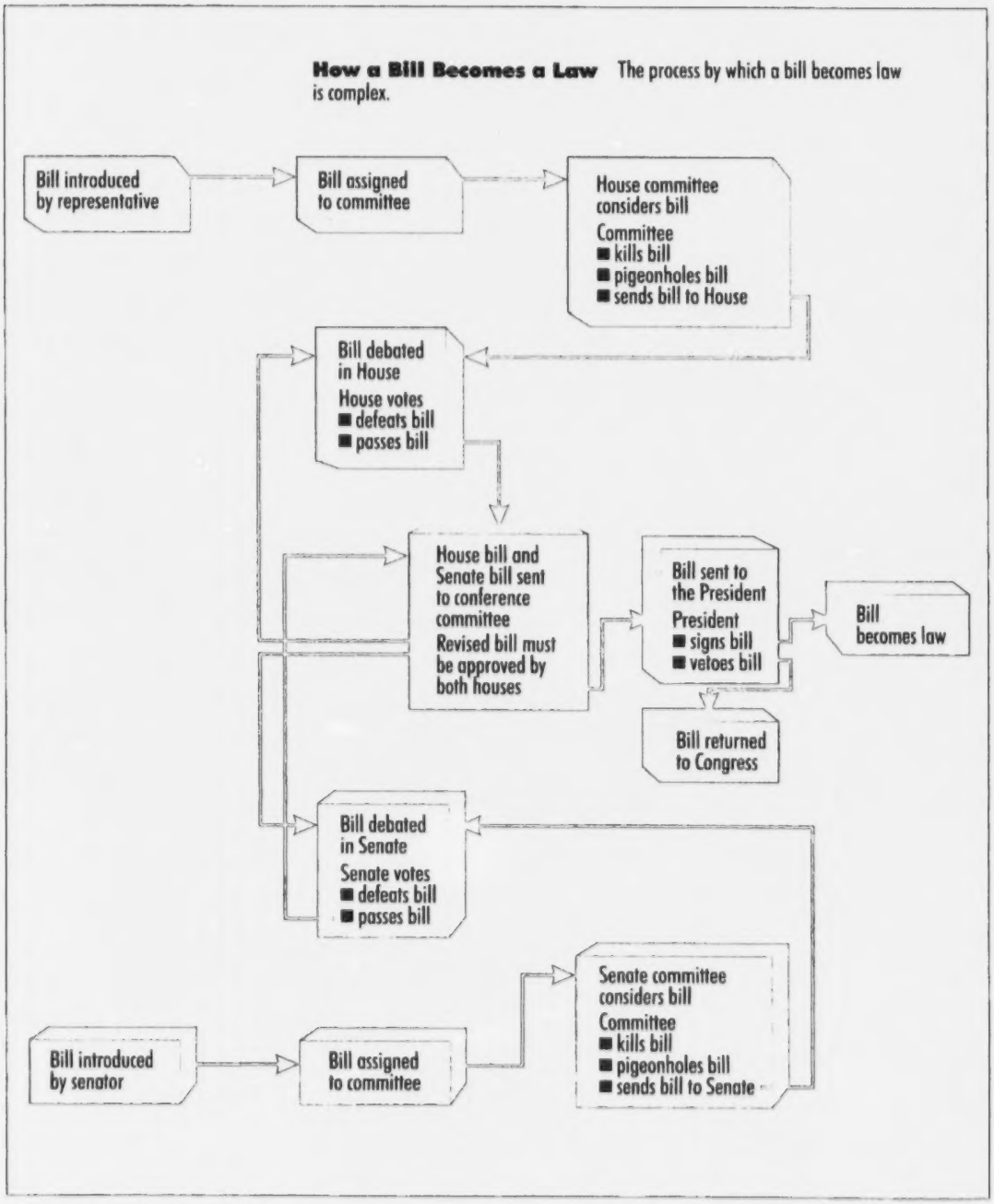
How a Bill Becomes a Law in the United States

How a Bill Becomes a Law The process by which a bill becomes law is complex.



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Topic 2 Economic Issues in Germany and the European Union

Lesson 1 What is the significance of the new European currency to Germany, Europe and the United States?

Lesson Objective

The student will examine the economic, social and political impact of the Euro.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 2.1 "On the Way to the Euro: A Currency Union Timetable"
- Handout 2.2 "Legal and Economic Framework for the Euro: Where the Countries Stood, 1997"
- Transparency 13 "Voters Aren't Sure"
- Handout 2.3 "Little by Little, The Euro Becomes a European Reality"
- Teacher Resource 2.1 "Design of the Euro"
- Transparency 14 "What Does the Euro Look Like?"
- Handout 2.4 "The Euro Can Complement the Dollar"
- Transparency 15 "Trade Statistics"

Strategies

One of the most visible features of the European Union is the new international currency, the Euro. It took more than a decade of discussion for member states to agree on the details of how the new currency should be introduced. Questions arose over design, exchange rates, and the use of the currency on the world financial markets. This lesson provides students opportunities to examine some of the questions facing member states as they moved towards the acceptance of a single currency.

Begin this lesson by distributing Handout 2.1, "On the Way to the Euro: A Currency Union Timetable" for students to examine. Ask students the following questions as a way of introducing the topic.

- What was the treaty that first called for a common currency?
- What reasoning might have gone into the choice of the name Euro for the currency?
- Have all member states scheduled their introduction of the Euro?
- Which EU officials recommend countries for participation?
- What organization distributes the Euro?
- When did the Euro enter general circulation?

Continue the discussion by distributing Handout 2.2, "Legal and Economic Framework for the Euro: Where the Countries Stood,1997." Have students examine the list of member states and divide the list into three groups: those countries that implemented the Euro in the first wave, those countries that would like to implement but are not qualified, and those that are not qualified or have chosen to wait. Ask students to hypothesize as to why specific countries fall into the different categories. Also ask students to hypothesize as to the effectiveness of the currency if so many member states do not participate. By projecting Transparency 13, "Voters Aren't Sure," students can identify correlations between category of participation and public opinion in member states. Ask students: "What would account for the fact that in several of the countries currently unqualified to implement the Euro, public opinion strongly supports moving toward a single currency?"

Next, have students read Handout 2.3, "Little by Little, The Euro Becomes a European Reality." Discussion questions should include the following:

- How have many European businesses chosen to introduce their customers to the Euro even though the currency is not scheduled to go into full effect until 2002?
- How will people actually be able to use the Euro before its general introduction in 2002?
- How has the international credit system had to adjust to the currency?
- What fraud has already surfaced with respect to the Euro?
- According to the article, what is the general level of support for the Euro among member states?

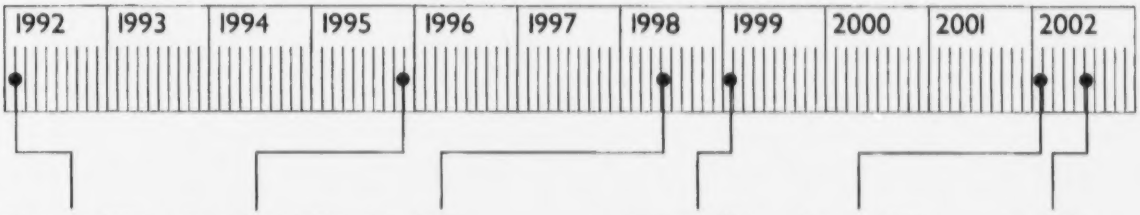
To introduce the appearance of the new currency, share the information in Teacher Resource 2.1, "Design of the Euro," with students. Project Transparency 14, "What Does the Euro Look Like?" and have students attempt to identify the "gateway, window or bridge" found on each note [answers found in Teacher Resource 2.1]. Ask students "What factors were considered in choosing the images for the bank notes?" Point out to students that the map of Europe on each note shows no individual national boundaries and that the EU flag is present on each note. Conclude by asking students make general observations about the symbols shown on the currency. Students should note that they are multi-national or related to common cultural history rather than nation-specific. In contrast, have students examine U.S. currency.

- Who is featured on the front of each bill? (a U.S. president or prominent politician)
- What is found on the reverse of each bill? (a national symbol or a national building or monument)

Students should recognize the differences between a national currency and an international currency.

Conclude this lesson by having students examine the impact of the introduction of the Euro on U.S. trade. Students should read and be prepared to discuss Handout 2.4, "The Euro Can Complement the Dollar." Next, project a copy of Transparency 15, "Trade Statistics," and have the students generate a list of the possible positive and negative impact of the Euro on the U. S. economy. After completing this discussion each student should write a paragraph summarizing his or her view on the impact of the introduction of the Euro on the dollar and the U.S. economy.

On the Way to the Euro: A Currency Union Timetable



February 1992
The European Union decides to create a single currency as part of the landmark Maastricht treaty.

December 1995
European leaders decide to call the new currency the "euro". The timetable for introduction is produced.

May 1998
EU nations that meet economic standards and want to adopt the currency are inducted into the "euro zone". The Central European Bank, the equivalent of the U.S. Federal Reserve, is established.

January 1999
The euro becomes a reality for financial markets and multinational businesses. Its conversion rate is fixed to local currencies.

January 2002
Coins and bank notes denominated in euros will make their appearance. National currencies will remain valid for up to six months.

July 2002
German marks, French francs, Italian lira and other national currencies will disappear, leaving the euro as the sole legal tender.

EURO EXPANSION

The collapse of Communism early in this decade gave central and eastern European countries an appetite for capitalism, and an eagerness to shed historic ties to Moscow. They are seeking to transform their sluggish state economies into free markets akin to those of the West.

Six nations were invited to commence talks on prospective European Union membership. They are the Mediterranean Island nation of Cyprus and five countries formerly behind the iron curtain: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Estonia.

The problems are many, not the least of which is great economic disparity. The average per capita income of the EU ($20,830) is more than twice that of the candidate nations. Negotiations will take years. Prospective members also must write roughly 80,000 pages of European laws and regulations into their national legal codes.

If expansion comes, it would raise the European Union's population to 500 million. And then, five more eastern European countries are waiting in the wings: Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Romania. They have been identified as the second-tier of prospective members by EU leaders.

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Legal and Economic Framework for the Euro: Where the Countries Stood, 1997

The decision to introduce a single currency was an integral part of the Treaty on European Union signed in Maastricht, Netherlands, in February 1992. To be able to join the euro area, the member states must bring their economies closer together: they must achieve "convergence." The four convergence criteria are:

Budget Discipline
The annual deficit must not exceed 3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and overall government debt must not exceed 60% of the GDP.

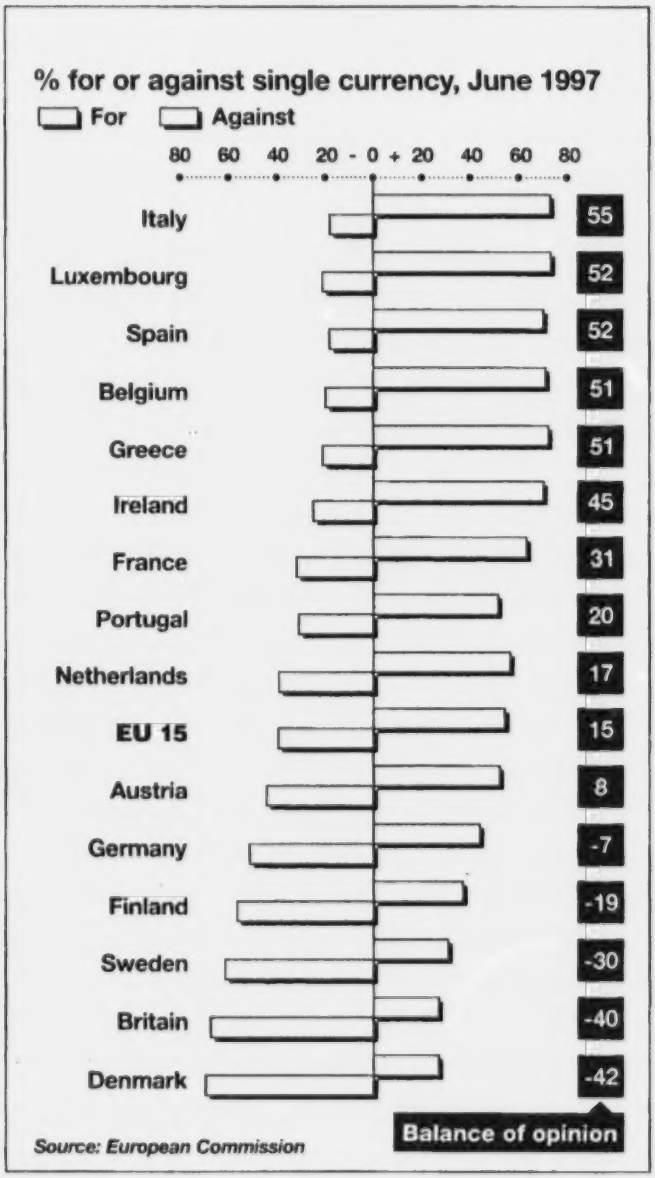
Inflation Rate
Inflation should not exceed by more than 1.5 percentage points the average rate of the three best performing member states in terms of price stability.

Currency Stability
The country's currencies must have remained with the normal fluctuation margins of the European Monetary System (EMS) for the last two years.

Long-term Interest Rates
Long-term interest rates should not exceed by more than 2 percentage points the average of the three members states with the lowest rates in the Union.

Ireland	An enthusiastic supporter, Ireland does not meet the criteria, but it aims to be in the first round of qualifying.
UK	Britain has stated it is unlikely that it would enter the monetary union in the first wave.
Denmark	One of two countries than can opt out of the union, it is working toward qualification.
Sweden	Sweden's government announced it would not be in the first wave.
Finland	The government is for the union and plans on being in the first round of countries.
Germany	Due to a budget deficit, Germany cannot meet the criteria, but it will be included in the first round or the first round likely would be postponed.
Netherlands	On track to meeting the criteria for the first wave.
Belgium	On track for qualifying for the first wave.
Luxembourg	The only country at present that qualifies under the Maastricht Treaty.
France	Government favors the euro but wants to lower the unemployment rate rather than reduce the budget deficit, which could put up a roadblock to qualifying.
Portugal	Economy at present does not qualify for membership.
Spain	Economy at present does not qualify for membership.
Italy	Economy at present does not qualify for membership.
Greece	Economy at present does not qualify for membership.
Austria	At present they do not qualify but are confident that conditions will be met by deadline.

Voters Aren't Sure



Little by Little the Euro Becomes a European Reality

Tordesillas, Spain:

At Hotel Los Toreros, the cuisine is resolutely Spanish. But the prices of the Galician-style octopus and vinegar soaked partridge herald the start of a pan-European financial revolution.

"We were the first in the province to give our prices in Euros," said Jesus Tamon Fernandez, who runs Los Toreros with his brothers. "Everybody is talking about it and everybody accepts it."

After years of planning, the Euro has become a commom currency of eleven European nations on January 1, 1999. But even before, French supermarkets, Belgian Banks, and Viennese coffee houses are marking their prices in Euros, a sure sign the currency once dismissed as a pipe dream of bureaucrats, is becoming a realitiy for millions of Europeans.

"It's so people can see it already, so customers can get used to it, and those of us working here can learn about it," said Jochen Granetz, head waiter at the trendy Kunsthaus Café in Vienna. A bottle of tangy Czech beer costs 3.45 Euros, calculated at a rate of 13.9 Austrian Schillings to the Euro.

Fernandez, on this little town on the central plains of Spain, prices his cuisine at 164.8 Pesetas to the Euro. Actually, such prices are becoming something of a gimmick. No one can pay in Euros yet. However, barring some last minute upset, the Euro will be worth about 6.6 French Francs, 14 Austrian Schillings and 2 German Marks. A Dollar will be worth about 80 Eurocents.

But nobody will be able to buy any Euros over the bank counter until 2002, when Euro coins and bank notes will begin circulating. For three years, the Euro will exist only as a sort of virtual money alongside existing currencies.

It will trade on international markets against the Dollar and other currencies. Stock and bond prices will be set in Euros. Workers in multinational companies will receive paychecks denominated in Euros. Banks will let clients open Euro accounts. And governments will allow residents to pay taxes in Euros. Consumers will be able to pay in Euros on credit and debit card, or by check but only at those retailers that choose to switch early.

Peter Warner, Euro program coordinator at Europay International, which represents Mastercard in Europe, estimates only 10% of transactions will be handled in Euros during the first months of the switch.

Most of the Euro-zone's 270 million citizens will be able to ignore, for the most part, the Euro until 2002 and carry on shopping with Spanish Pesetas, Italian Lire, French Francs and the rest.

To try avoid the immense potential for confusion during the transition, government and private institutions have launched information campaigns with radio, television and newspaper advertising. "The idea is to reassure people," said Annette Connly of the Euro Changeover Board in Ireland. "It won't impact their daily lives until 2002. They will have plenty of time to get used to the new currency."

The message isn't getting trough everywhere. Con artists roving remote villages of Portugal are exploiting ignorance about the Euro to cheat the elderly out of their savings. Posing as bank employees, swindlers tell intended victims their Escudos, the Portuguese currency, will soon be worthless and they must hand them over for the new Euros.

Teachers are trying to ensure that younger Europeans are better informed. At the Bois de la Cambre elementary school in suburban Brussels, classrooms are decorated with posters showing the boldly colored Euro notes with their images of bridges and gateways.

"We'll have the Euros in our purses in 2002," said Mo-Linh Le, who will be 12 then. "We created the Euro so we won't have to change money when we go to other European Union nations."

Once skeptical citizens now seem to be getting used to the idea that the new money will eventually make life easier and will help business by eradicating exchange costs and currency fluctuations within the Euro-bloc.

An EU poll in September found almost two-thirds of all citizens in the 11 Euro-zone nations favor the Euro, a sharp rise from previous surveys.

Paul Ames, The Atlanta Journal Constitution, October 29, 1998

Design of the Euro

The new currency had to be designed in a way that would be inclusive of all the nations planning to participate. The design chosen by an independent jury depicts architectural styles during seven eras of Europe's cultural history and emphasizes three main elements: windows, gateways, and bridges. The design, submitted by the chief designer of the Austrian national bank, blends the historical development in Europe in one harmonious composition and it epitomizes the dawn of the new common Europe.

Windows and gateways symbolize the spirit of openness and cooperation in the European Union; the bridges are used as a metaphor for communication both among the people of Europe and also between Europe and the rest of the world.

Each denomination has a single predominant color and a specific size. Large and bold numerals will be printed in a standard position throughout the series on both sides of the bank notes. To help visually handicapped people, tactile marks will be positioned near an edge or a corner of the bank note. In addition, advanced security features will be included to prevent counterfeiting.

The Euro coins will come with a "national" and "European" side. For the national side, the finance minister of the issuing country will have the final choice; the European design will be decided on jointly by the finance ministers of the European Union.

What Does the Euro Look Like?

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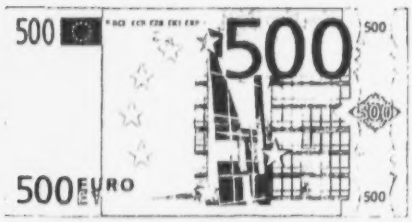
What Does the Euro Look Like?



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The Euro Can Complement the Dollar

NOW that Germany, France and Italy have all passed the key budgetary test for European monetary union, the creation of the euro at the beginning of 1999 seems virtually guaranteed. Naturally, the birth of this new currency is raising questions about the future role of the dollar. Its outlook is no academic matter.

Possessing the world's premier currency has brought the United States some very practical benefits. The huge budget deficits of the 1980's and early 1990's would have been difficult to finance if not for the appetite of global investors for United States Treasury securities and other dollar-denominated assets. Similarly, America's enormous trade and current-account deficits have been sustainable largely because the dollar is the dominant reserve currency — the preferred store of value for corporations, central banks and other institutions worldwide.

To a certain extent, the dollar's special status has allowed the United States to enjoy something of a free lunch. A part of its current-account deficit can be covered simply by printing dollars, which the rest of the world then uses as money.

But that is hardly the only benefit. With so many investors interested in holding dollar assets, it was inevitable that American financial markets would develop into the most liquid and best diversified in the world. This, in turn, has further increased the attractiveness of dollar assets to foreign investors and placed American investment banks at the forefront of financial innovation.

These advantages were very much on the minds of European policy makers when they began the single-currency project. From an American perspective, this raises a vital question: Will the United States have to share its global currency leadership role — and its benefits — with the Europeans?

Although the euro lacks a track record, figures suggest that it will automatically be a serious rival to the dollar.

The European Union currently accounts for more than 20 percent of total world trade (not including trade among its members), compared with 18.3 percent for the United States. And the bond markets of the European Union totaled $7 trillion in volume in 1996, almost 80 percent of the United States total of nearly $8.8 trillion.

This means that the euro markets could have almost the same depth and liquidity as those of the United States. Thus, it seems that the euro can find its place in the sun as a powerful world currency.

BUT Europeans would be wise, at least initially, to content themselves with the role of junior partner.

The euro will initially reduce, not raise, Europe's importance in the global monetary system. Monetary union will allow most European central banks to do without their holdings of foreign-exchange reserves, which they currently need to defend their national currencies. This will leave the euro's share of world reserves at 15 percent, pushing the collective reserves of the European Union countries back to their position in 1973, when the dollar's dominance was near its peak.

While such a forecast might sound comforting to American ears, it should be even more encouraging to Europe. At present, the European debate over the euro suffers from an excess of wishful thinking. Many European policy makers are demanding a strong euro while also calling for a more competitive Europe. These two goals, both admirable, are nevertheless contradictory.

The reality is that a strong currency must be earned the hard way, through tough policies that emphasize price stability — including, if necessary, the imposing of relatively high short-term interest rates. While such policies might aid European competitiveness in the long run, they would add in the short term to the cost burdens already facing industries in many European countries. Simply put, Europe may not be able to support a strong euro at this time.

The next few years should usher in a period of peaceful coexistence for the euro and the dollar, as Europe is now in no position to seek a reserve currency role for its currency.

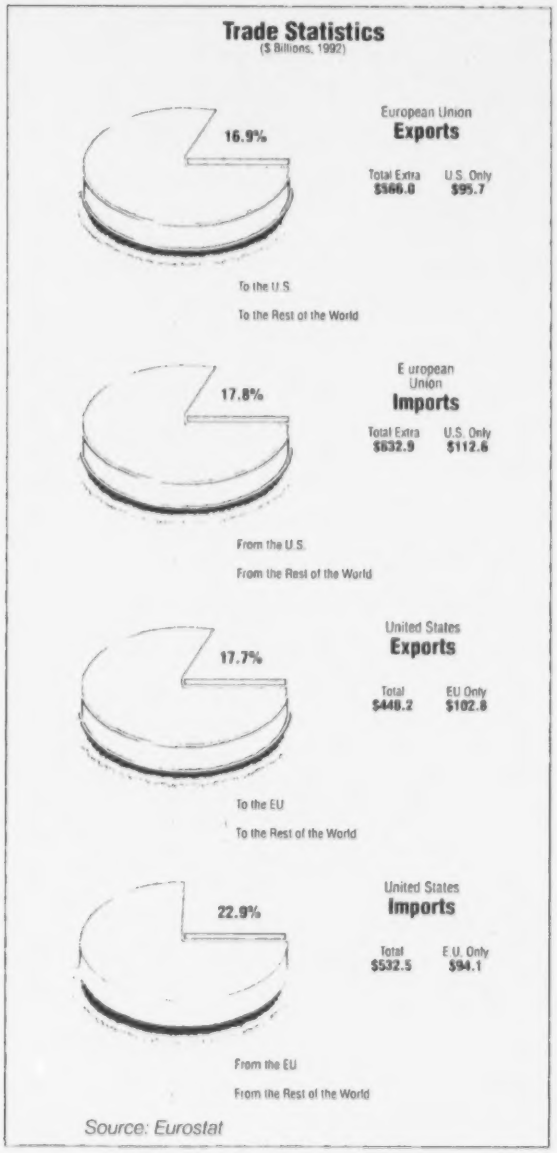
Over the long run, however, the outlook is less favorable for the dollar. The euro will end the dollar's monopoly position, and, given time, the Europeans may give the Americans a run for their money. If nothing else, this should keep American financial firms and the American economy on a sharper edge, improving the prospects for a more efficient, more prosperous global economy.

WHILE the euro will never be a substitute for the dollar, it will become a viable complement, allowing Europe to share in the monetary benefits now enjoyed solely by the United States. But providing the world with a reserve currency also means accepting responsibility for the stability of the world's financial system. The burdens as well as the benefits of leadership will need to be shared.

Ultimately, the euro could provide a response to Henry Kissinger's famous quip that he would love to consult with Europe, if only someone would give him the phone number. In global monetary affairs, at least, that line is about to be placed in service. □

Klaus Friedrich, New York Times, Sunday, March 22, 1998

Trade Statistics



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Lesson 2 What is the European Union's environmental policy on Germany and other member states?

Lesson Objective

The student will examine the efforts being made by the European Union to address transnational environmental problems.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 2.5 "European Union's Environmental Policy"
- Transparency 16 "Polluted Rivers in Germany"
- Transparency 17 "Sulfur Dioxide Pollution in Germany"
- Transparency 18 "Population Density in Germany and Europe" (with overlay)
- Handout 2.6 "EU War on Acid Rain Threatens Coal Jobs"

Strategies

Pollution does not recognize political boundaries. For that reason, the European Union has made environmental protection a major part of its current agenda. Industrial pollutants, burgeoning population, and reduction of natural wildlife habitats are problems facing all the EU member states. This lesson will focus on German efforts to address water pollution and the damage caused by excessive sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere. Germany's difficulties can serve as a case study for similar problems in other EU member states.

To introduce students to the European Union's general environmental policy, distribute Handout 2.5, "European Union's Environmental Policy" to read. The teacher should lead a discussion of the article and make the point that there are difficulties in trying to set international environmental standards. The following questions will help bring this point to the forefront:

- What happens when one nation's economy is dependent on an industry identified as a heavy polluter?
- How are transnational cleanup efforts to be funded?
- What are the current primary areas of ecological concern to the EU?
- What practical steps are already in place to control or correct pollution among EU member states?
- What bodies within the EU make decisions about environmental issues?

Germany can serve as a case study for some of the major environmental issues facing EU member states. While Germany has made great strides in recent years in addressing both water pollution and acid rain, much remains to be done.

Project a copy of Transparency 16, "Polluted Rivers in Germany," and identify areas of excessive pollution. Next, superimpose a copy of Transparency 18, "Population Density in Germany and Europe," over the river map. Ask students to note the relationship between the polluted rivers and population concentrations. Students note that although there are heavy concentrations of people along the Rhine River, the quality of this waterway is generally better

than those in other heavily populated areas. This is a result of the concerted effort by the German government during the last decade to address pollution issues impacting this waterway. Students should also note that in spite of the less heavily populated areas of eastern Germany, the rivers are generally more polluted. Have them hypothesize as to the cause (general lack of attention to the environment under Communist rule). Next, project a copy of Transparency 17, "Sulfur Dioxide Pollution in Germany" and note the areas in the country where forests have been damaged by sulfur dioxide pollution. Again superimpose Transparency 18, "Population Density in Germany" and ask students to note the relationship.

Debrief these relationships by asking students the following questions:

- Why would Germany's problems be of concern to the European Union as a whole? *(because the rivers run through several member states and the acid rain affecting the country does not stop at national borders)*
- How does Germany's situation illustrate the problem faced by countries without the financial resources needed to address major environmental problems? *(issues of east/west and unification)*

European Union efforts at cleaning up environmental problems often meet resistance from countries whose economies are tied to industries that contribute significantly to environmental degradation. A case in point is found in British reaction to EU efforts to stem the levels of sulfur dioxide and nitrous oxide in the atmosphere, two culprits in the battle against acid rain. Have students read the newspaper article in Handout 2.6, "EU War on Acid Rain Threatens Coal Jobs." Have students list the fears expressed by members of the British Trade Union Congress about the impact of environmental controls on the British coal mining industry. Divide the class into three groups, one representing the British coal mine workers, one representing the European Commission, and a third representing the British public. Have the first two groups assemble their arguments into a short presentation. The coal miners and the EU Commission should then present their arguments in an attempt to sway the British public to their point of view.

As a final activity have students look for additional articles in newspapers, magazines and the Internet which deal with EU efforts to address environmental issues in other member states.

The European Union's Environmental Policy

Pollution has no respect for national borders; it carries on the wind and water and damages environments far distant from its point of origin. That is why the European Union's policy in this area has greatly developed in the last two decades and this is why global agreements on environmental protection are now a part of the international agenda. The Union's current policies extend far beyond air and water quality to include the protection of soils, habitats, and fauna and flora, as well as the conservation of wild birds.

When the Rome treaty was written in 1956–1957, its authors saw no need to provide for a common policy on the environment because they did not perceive any common threat. It was not until October 1972 that a conference of Heads of State or Government insisted that a common policy was needed, and since then more than 200 items of Union legislation on the environment have been enacted. These are the products of action programs which the Council of Ministers have been endorsing since 1973.

Environment policy was built into the Treaty by the Single European Act of 1987 and its scope was extended by the treaty on European Union in 1992. This allowed the use of majority voting on environmental legislation and introduced as a principle of treaty law the concept of sustainable growth which respects the environment. While leaving plenty of scope for national action and allowing member states to take even tougher protection measures than those agreed at Union level, the treaty says that Union policy should contribute to the pursuit of:

- Preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the environment
- Protecting human health
- Ensuring a prudent and rational utilization of natural resources
- Promoting measures at the international level to deal with regional or worldwide environmental problems

The treaty requires Union policy to aim at a high level of protection, at rectifying environmental damage at the source, and to be based on taking preventative action and making the polluter pay.

Toward Sustainable Development-the Evolution of EU Environmental Policy

During the 1970s and 1980s, legislation in the form of directives was mainly concerned to set limits on emissions of specific pollutants such as motor vehicle exhaust gases and wastes from agriculture and industrial plants. But by the mid-1980s it was clear that broader strategies were needed which focused on regulating the consumption of natural resources. These began to emerge during the 1990s and took the form of "horizontal" directives regulating many environmentally sensitive activities, with flexibility for member states to implement them according to local conditions.

Sustainability is defined as maintaining continuity of economic and social developments while respecting the environment and without jeopardizing future use of natural resources. Five key sectors were targeted because of their environmental impact: industry, tourism, transport, energy, and agriculture.

Key Instruments of the Union's Environmental Policy

Environmental Impact Assessment: This directive lays down a systematic procedure for assessing the potential damage which might be caused by individual projects and requires that the public must be involved in the process. Recently provisions were included which require cross-border consultation on the construction of installations such as power stations and incineration plants for hazardous waste and on the deforestation of large areas.

The European Union's Environmental Policy

European Environment Agency: This agency is designed to study the need for reliable data by:

- Providing the Union, member states, and third countries with objective information for drawing up and implementing effective environmental protection policies
- Supplying technical, scientific, and economic information required for laying down, preparing, and implementing measures and laws related to environmental protection
- Developing forecasting techniques to enable appropriate and timely preventative measures to be taken
- Ensuring that European environmental data are incorporated into international environmental programs

Free Access to Information on Environmental Pollution: This directive requires national authorities to make information on the environment available to any natural or legal citizen on request without the person concerned having to prove an interest.

Eco-label for Environmentally Friendly Products: This regulation provides that the manufacturer or the first importer of a product may apply for an eco-label to the competent body in the member state. This body decides whether to award the label after assessing the product and consulting widely.

Eco-audit: A voluntary environmental auditing scheme which requires participating companies to incorporate environmental protection standards into their production processes. Member states have the task of coordinating the scheme, receiving applications to participate and drawing up a list of approved "verifiers" who can decide on compliance with the regulation.

The LIFE Regulation: Is designed to provide financial incentives for Union projects in the environmental field.

Where Union Legislation is Most Active

Water Pollution: A number of directives have been approved dealing with the protection of surface and underground water, both fresh and salt. Quality standards have been set for bathing water, drinking water, fresh water suitable for fish life and water used for rearing shellfish. This discharge of toxic substances is strictly controlled. The Union is a participant in several conventions designed to reduce pollution in international waterways such as the Rhine River, the North Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean.

Atmospheric Pollution: Despite the adoption of a series of directives, further progress is being sought by the Commission to deal with pollution from large combustion plants, particularly power stations, and the emission of gases from motor vehicles. A proposed carbon/energy tax aimed at reducing CO2 output and increasing energy efficiency is being considered. Concern about the depletion of the ozone layer led the Union to adopt a series of measures to phase out the production and consumption of CFCs and other substances thought to be responsible for this phenomenon.

Noise: Directives have been adopted fixing the maximum noise levels for cars, trucks, motorcycles, tractors, subsonic aircrafts, lawnmowers, and building site machinery. The noise level of household equipment must be stipulated on its packaging, and proposals are under way concerning helicopters and rail vehicles.

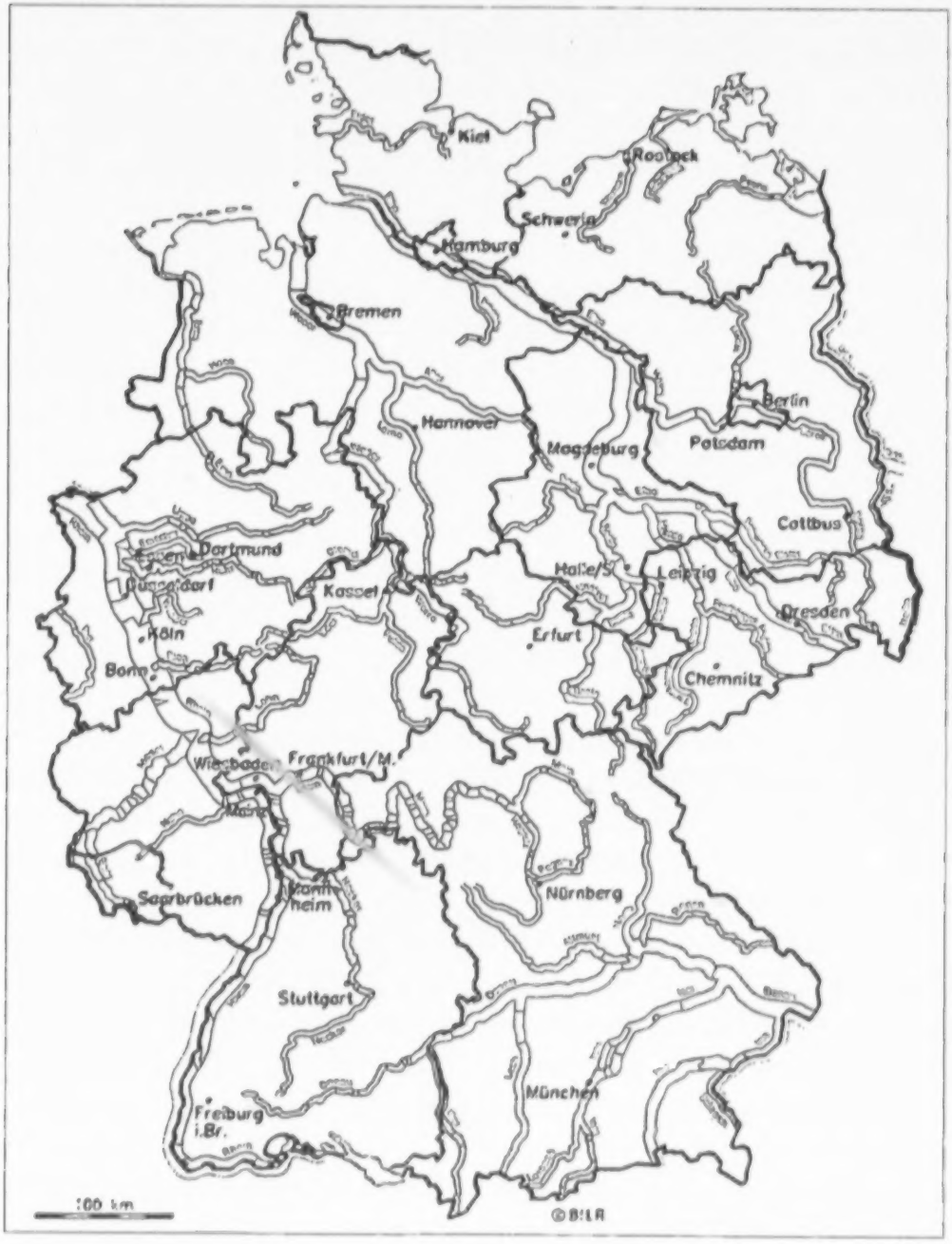
Chemical Products: After an accident in northern Italy in 1977, measures have been taken to reduce the risks arising from the manufacture and disposal of chemical substances. Directives regulate, among other things, the classification, packaging, and labeling of dangerous substances, and the composition of detergents. Since 1986 there has been a group which lists all chemical products on the market, enabling them to be subject to a general procedure for notification, evaluation, and control. Member states are obligated to inform authorities about substances, plants, and possible locations of accidents.

The European Union's Environmental Policy

Waste Disposal: The EU produces more than two billion tons of waste every year and its collection, disposal, recycling, and processing is regulated by a number of directives. Specific measures have also been taken to control transboundary shipments of wastes, as well as in individual areas, such as waste from the titanium oxide industry, waste oils, the dumping of waste at sea, and radioactive waste.

Nature Protection: The Council of Ministers has adopted several directives on the conservation of wild birds and habitats, on banning imports of products made from the skin of baby seals, and on the control of scientific experiments on animals. Financial support is given to projects to conserve natural habitats.

Polluted Rivers in Germany



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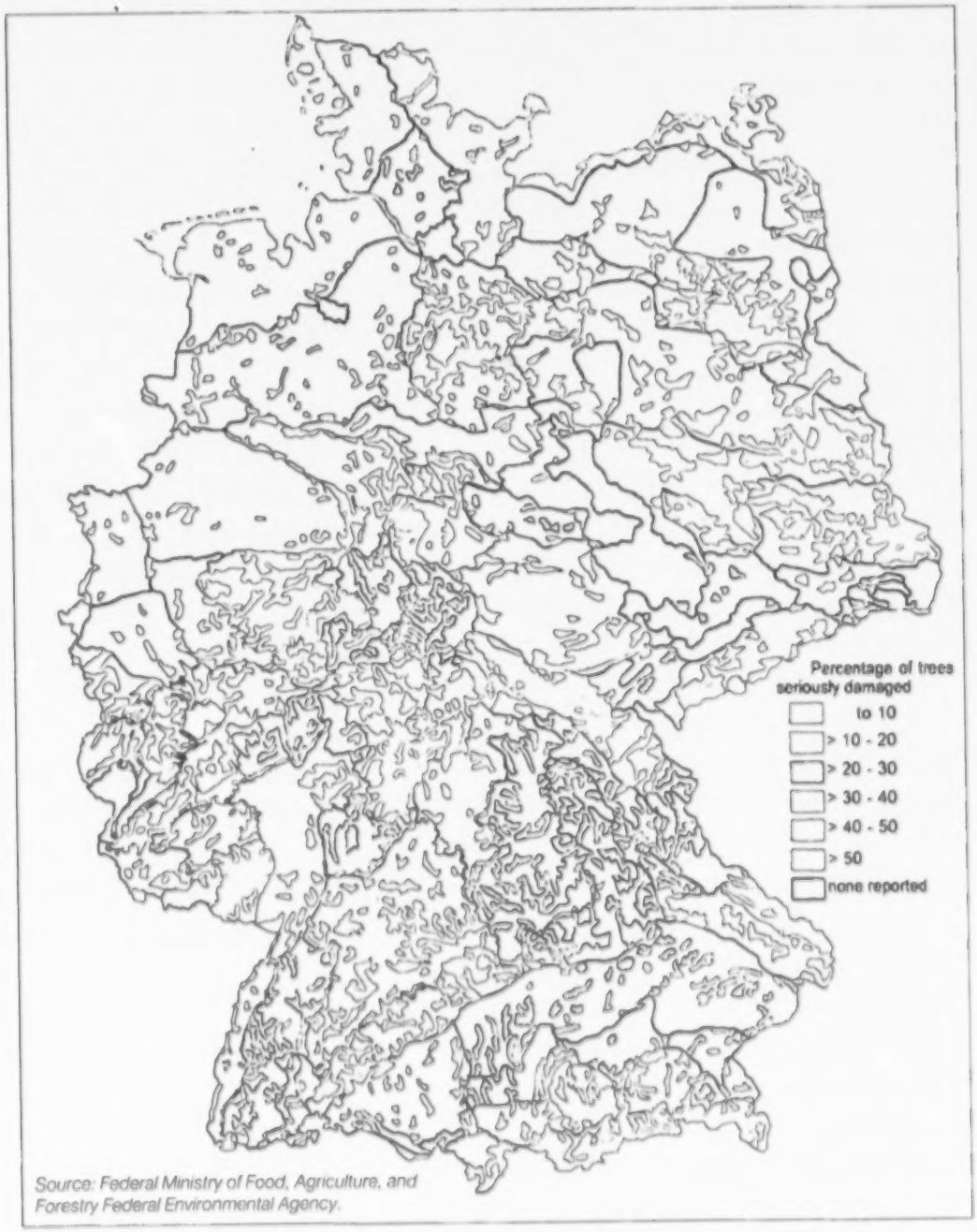
Sulfur Dioxide Pollution in Germany



Source: Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry Federal Environmental Agency.

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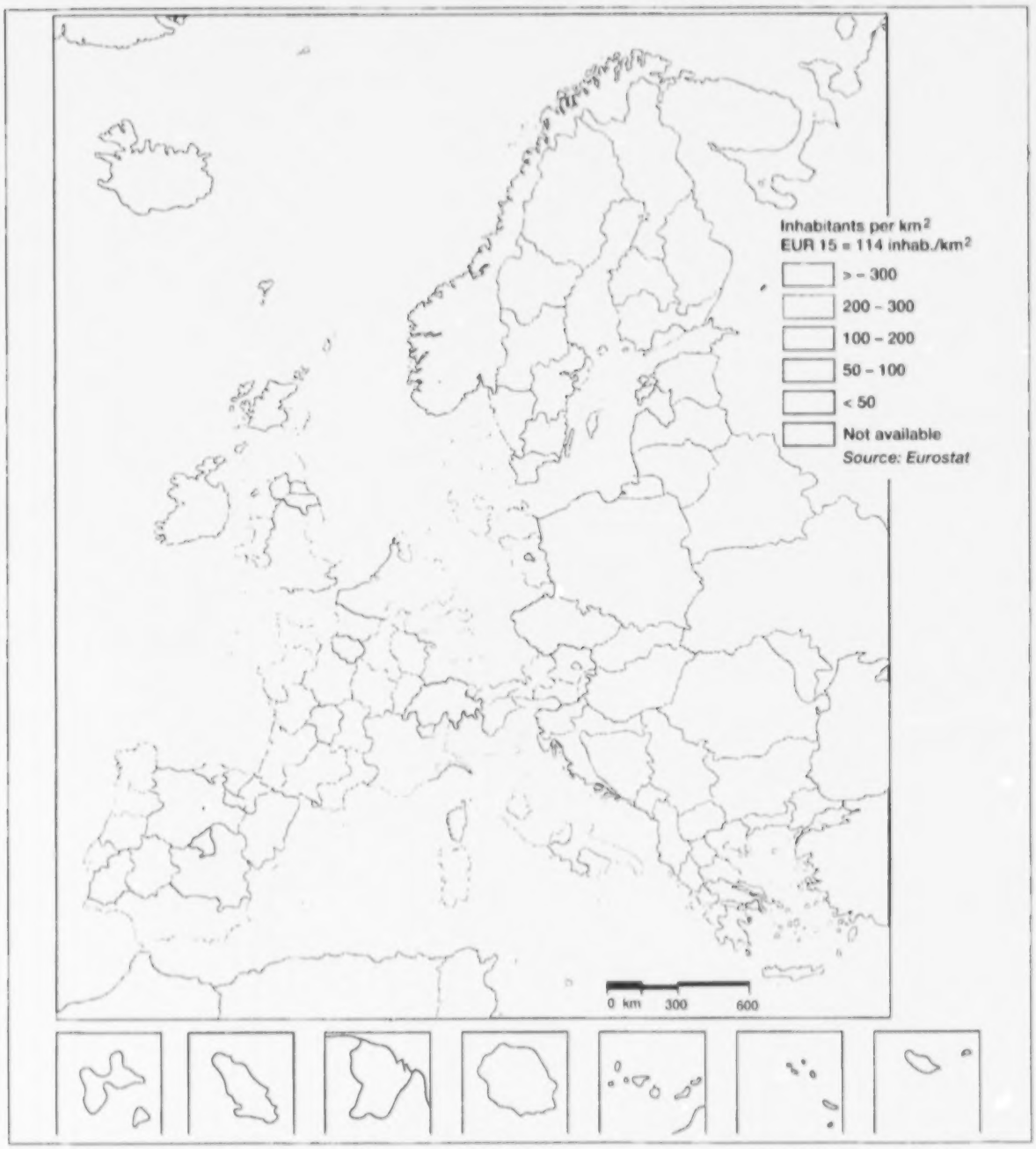
Population Density in Germany and Europe



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Population Density in Germany and Europe

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EU War on Acid Rain Threatens Coal Jobs

All Britain's 23 surviving deep coal mines will be closed and 70,000 jobs lost in the mining and electricity industry if a European Union plan to reduce acid rain goes ahead, the Trade Union Congress of the United Kingdom will be warned today. Union leaders in the energy industry are joining managers to warn that the proposed EU legislation could mean Britain will have to build 15 to 20 new gas-fired power stations to replace coal-fired plants – at a cost of around two billion pounds and a 15% rise in electricity prices. The threat comes at a time when the coal industry – squeezed by what is regarded widely as an electricity market rigged against it – faces renewed closures as the power generators prepare to slash their purchases of deep-mined British coal.

The EU has already made substantial progress in attacking the source of acid rain – created by emissions of nitrous oxide (NOX) and sulfur dioxide (SO2), from power stations, cars, and lorries – but the European Commission is determined to press ahead with even more stringent legislation. The EU proposal to amend the Large Combustion Plant Directive to enforce far lower targets is expected to come before ministers later this year.

Under existing plans, emissions of NOX and SO2 in Britain are to be cut from their 1990 levels of 2,702 and 3,752 kilotonnes per year to 279 and 753 kt respectively by the year 2010. Now the commission wants to accelerate those cuts to bring them down to 60 and 75 kts per year over the same timescale.

Tony Cooper, general secretary of the Engineers' and Managers' Association, the white-collar energy union, will tell the TUC conference today that if the proposals are accepted, only the Ratcliffe and giant Drax coal-fired power stations – both fitted with flue gas desulphurisation equipment – could survive. Alone they could not sustain deep mining in Britain. In 1996, the two stations emitted 63 kts of SO2 – almost the full amount the UK would be allowed to produce under the new targets, despite their special sulfur scrubbing equipment.

The mining unions have repeatedly pressed for the investment in clean-coal technology that would allow Britain to maintain its coal industry, but the government has yet to go beyond sympathetic noises. Mr. Cooper will argue that the new targets take no account of the huge progress Europe has made in tackling acidification. He will cite a recent United Nations report which suggests that Norway, one of the worst victims of acid rain, has seen a 50% drop in SO2 in rainfall since 1980, and that sulfur in lakes has fallen 33%.

The Guardian, Manchester, September 8, 1997

Lesson 3 What are the differences in standard of living among Germany and other European Union member states?

Lesson Objective

The student will examine the differences among European Union member states on a number of economic attributes.

Materials and Resources

- Transparency 19 "GDP in Regions of the European Union"
- Transparency 20 "Unemployment in Europe"
- Transparency 21 "The Work Week and Wages in Manufacturing"
- Transparency 22 "Western Europe's Tax Burden"
- Worksheet 2.1 "Standards of Living in EU Member States and the United States"

Strategies

By entering into partnership together, a primary aim of the European Union is to promote democracy, peace, prosperity and a fairer distribution of wealth. After establishing a true frontier-free Europe by eliminating the remaining barriers to trade among themselves, the member states of the European Union have resolved to respond to the major economic and social challenges of the day—to establish a common currency, boost employment and strengthen Europe's role in world affairs.

This lesson contains a series of maps and charts on some of the member states of the European Union—their standard of living, employment, and economic factors. Begin this lesson by providing students paper copies of Transparency 19, "GDP in Regions of the European Union," and Transparency 20 "Unemployment in Europe." Project copies of the transparencies and ask the following questions.

- What region of Europe has the highest Gross Domestic Product? The lowest?
- Which areas of Germany have the highest GDP? The lowest?
- What regions of Europe have the highest unemployment? The lowest?
- Which areas of Germany have the highest unemployment? The lowest?
- What conclusions about the diversity of the economy of Europe can be drawn by analyzing the relationship between these two maps?

Next, show students the data in Transparency 21 "The Work Week and Wages in Manufacturing." Have students compare the length of the workweek in the United States to those of selected European nations. How does the United States compare to the other nations with regard to the average number of hours worked in manufacturing? How does Germany compare? Which of the five nations

pays the highest wages? The lowest wages? In which country is the work week the longest? The shortest?

Transparency 22, "Western Europe's Tax Burden," provides additional data for student consideration. Which country has the highest taxes on its citizens? The lowest? How do the data compare to the GDP, wages, unemployment, and other economic data?

Conclude this lesson by having students complete Worksheet 2.1, "Standards of Living in EU member states and the United States." The transparencies will provide data for much of the worksheet. Additional resources such as Internet web sites and almanacs will be needed to locate data on all the nations. Once the data have been gathered, have students work in pairs to analyze the data for one of the member states and write a paragraph comparing the standard of living in that country to that of the United States.

GDP in Regions of the European Union

>125
101-125
75-100
< 75
Data not available

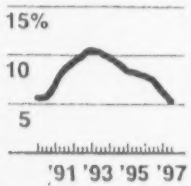
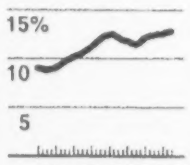
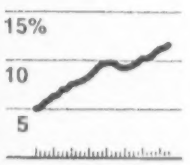
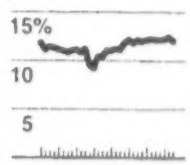
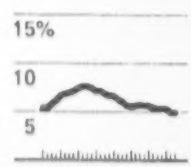
Source: A Community of Fifteen: key figures, European Communities, Brussels 2000, p. 12

Unemployment in Europe

>14
11 - 14
6 - 10
< 6
Data not available

Source: A Community of Fifteen: key figures, European Communities, Brussels 2000, p. 22

The Work Week and Wages in Manufacturing

BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	U.S.
Average weekly hours worked in manufacturing	Average weekly hours worked in manufacturing	Average weekly hours worked in manufacturing	Average weekly hours worked in manufacturing	Average weekly hours worked in manufacturing
35.6	31.7	29.0	35.0	37.9
Average total hourly compensation for production workers	Average total hourly compensation for production workers	Average total hourly compensation for production workers	Average total hourly compensation for production workers	Average total hourly compensation for production workers
$14.19	$19.34	$31.87	$18.08	$17.74
Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate	Unemployment rate
				

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; DRI/McGraw-Hill

Western Europe's Tax Burden

Taxes in Western Europe are High ...

Government tax revenues as a percentage of gross domestic product in 1994

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

90

Standards of Living in EU Member States and the United States

	Gross Domestic Product	Unemployment	Work Week	Compensation	Tax Burden
Austria					
Belgium					
Denmark					
Finland					
France					
Germany					
Greece					
Ireland					
Italy					
Luxembourg					
Netherlands					
Norway					
Portugal					
Spain					
Sweden					
United Kingdom					
United States					

Topic 3 The People of the European Union

Lesson 1 How are the concepts of nationalism and citizenship addressed in a changing Germany and a united Europe?

Lesson Objective

The students will examine the changing perceptions of nationality and citizenship as Europe moves towards a mobile, ethnically diverse society.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 3.1 "Europe's Rising Regionalism"
- Transparency 23 "Regionalism in Europe"
- Transparency 24 "The Languages of Europe"
- Transparency 25 "Political Overlay"
- Handout 3.2 "Europe: A Continent of Countries or a Composite of Regions?"
- Background reading: Susan Stern, "Europe: A Continent of Countries or a composite of Regions?"

Strategies

What does it mean to be European? Can the people on the continent hold multiple loyalties—to the European Union, to their homeland, and to their home town? There must be a commitment at an economic level, a political level, and an emotional level. This lesson provides opportunities for students to examine the three levels of commitment which Europeans need to embrace.

Begin this lesson by distributing Handout 3.1, "Europe's Rising Regionalism," for students to read. Debrief by asking students the following questions:

Lesson 1

- To what level of government are people turning to best address both everyday life and international affairs?
- What factors are driving the move toward regionalism?
- Where are the two regions that are now developing across Europe?
- How are the regions blurring national boundaries?
- What concerns arise with regard to European security as a result of regionalism?
- Why is Germany better prepared than many other countries to adapt to regionalism?
- Why do many Germans believe decentralization is in the best interest of both Germany and Europe?
- What is the status of the future of the nation state?

Next, project a copy of Transparency 24, "The Languages of Europe." Ask students to identify issues and problems that arise in Europe because of the multiple languages spoken across the continent. Next, superimpose Transparency 25, "Political Overlay," onto the language map. Ask such questions as:

- Do the political boundaries align with the language boundaries?
- Which countries contain regions with differing languages?
- Which languages are found in multiple countries?
- Are there areas of ethnic unrest that may be attributable to language differences?
- With the increased mobility of people today, how might these language differences change in the future?

To conclude this lesson, ask students to begin thinking about a definition of the term "Europe." Is it only a specifc geographic landscape? Is it a set of specific nations? Is it a psychological identity? Handout 3.2, "Europe: A Continent of Countries or a Composite of Regions," helps answer this question. Distribute copies for the class to read. As they proceed, students should note traits which will help them define 'Europe." The article describes clarifying traits as well as those which cloud the definition. The traits should be organized into a two-column chart. Ask students to use the information to define the meaning of Europe.

Close the class by asking students to discuss the meaning and significance of the following statement.

"Europe wasn't founded in Rome, but on Freud's couch in Vienna. The Germans want to forget Hitler, the French want to control the Germans, the Spanish want to forget Franco, and the Italians want any government but their own. Is this the makings of a union?"

Europe's Rising Regionalism

The Nation States of Europe

The nation-state is too big to run everyday life, and too small to manage international affairs. So say many of Europe's regional and big-city leaders, who are themselves gaining influence and authority. European cities and regional governments are acquiring bigger budgets and developing more professional bureaucracies. National cultures are being squeezed between a broader popular culture and briskly reviving regional cultures.

Two parallel and related processes have emerged. One is regionalism, the other globalization; instead of working through national capitals, European regions are linking themselves directly to the global economy. Regionalism, whether within or across national borders, is Europe's current and future dynamic, particularly for those who see themselves belonging more to "Europe" than to a nation state of clouded origins or dubious boundaries.

Officials in some provincial cities see growing regional sentiment as a reaction to burdensome regulations descending from the European Union headquarters in Brussels. The deeply controversial Treaty on European Union concluded at Maastricht in December 1991, took account of the trend by creating a Committee of the Regions, although that body's mandate is still not clear.

Regionalism is more than a return to cultural roots or a distancing from national capitals. It has as much to do with wealth creation as anything else. Many and probably most of the wealthiest provinces of Western Europe are interacting with one another and together creating super-regions—large economic zones that transcend national boundaries.

Various banking and business circles believe that Europe's industrial and financial heartland is dividing into banana-shaped configurations. The first zone stretches from southeastern England through northern France and the Benelux countries and down the Rhine Valley into Switzerland. The second forms an arc from the Veneto in Italy, west through Lombardy and the Piedmont into the Rhone-Alpes, across France's Mediterranean coast and hinterland, and into Catalonia. This area is much like America's "Sunbelt," another site of recent dynamic economic growth.

The European Union headquartered at Brussels perceives that a single European market could help the regions of Europe by blurring national frontiers. As borders lose their meaning, deeply rooted patterns of commercial and cultural interaction are reappearing in regions where people have more in common, culturally or economically, with neighbors across the border than with their fellow countrymen. High-speed rail transport will become increasingly important in building the potential strength of regionalism. Not surprisingly, cities, rather than nation states, are the strongest advocates of a continental rail system.

A large and unexamined question is the effect of regionalism on European security. Europeans for the most part have lost the habit of thinking about providing for their security at the level of the nation-state. Instead they have a feeling of security from membership in NATO and to the European Union. More open borders and weaker national governments also complicate efforts to combat illegal drugs, organized crime, and hot money.

If regions acquire separate identities, will some of them tilt against one another, as in the past? The revival of ethnicity brought on by regional resurgence is a concern. Could regions work to neutralize potentially violent separatist groups and perhaps relieve pressure on national governments?

One way of thinking about regionalism is to recognize that, in Western Europe, the Cold War was accompanied by vastly successful modernization which blurred regional cultures. The current revival of those cultures is in part a protest against the process.

The Länder of Germany

Among the member nations of the European Union, Germany is better prepared than many to adapt to a regional orientation, due to a well-estab-

Europe's Rising Regionalism

lished federal structure. German regionalism also has the strongest roots: tradition and Germany's brief but tumultuous history as a nation-state have strengthened the regional instincts of its people. Germans today exist comfortably within their federal structure. People can say "I am a Saxon" as easily as they can say, "I am a German."

The founders of the Federal Republic in 1948–1949 believed that the political life in West Germany should be built around reconstituted Länder. When the Berlin Wall came down and unification became a reality, East Germans instantly reclaimed their regional identities. Länder flags, not the national flag, were flown.

Economic growth in Germany has been concentrated in several rival cities—Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, and Düsseldorf. Regions like Bavaria and Baden-Württemburg rely on their business communities for leverage against Bonn. It is politically correct to be involved with the east, but investors in Munich are far less interested in the new Länder of eastern Germany than in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and other East and Central European countries. Among the Länder of eastern Germany, Saxony is the pacesetter and Dresden the most influential capital city.

Many Germans feel the larger interests of both Germany and Europe require further decentralization. Their concern is that a dominant, centralized republic with 80 million citizens and Berlin as its capital will intimidate its neighbors and foster anti-German coalitions.

The question many Europeans are asking is whether regions are gradually supplanting nation states as sources of political authority and custodians of public policy. While the answer remains unclear, it is likely that cities and regions can and will probably assume responsibilities that have belonged to central governments. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the EU would be built only of numerous regions, large and small. So far the significance of the regions is a good deal more economic than political. The nation-state is not going anywhere anytime soon. It remains the only proven instrument for protecting justice, tolerance, and other human values. That said, the signs point to regionalism, not the EU, as constituting the latest threat to the authority of the nation-state.

Excerpted from: "Europe's Rising Regionalism" by John Newhouse in Foreign Affairs, January/February 1997, vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 67–84

Regionalism in Europe

Source: "Europe's Rising Regionalism", John Newhouse in Foreign Affairs, January/February 1997, vol. 67 no 1

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The Languages of Europe

© Helmut Glück: Metzler Lexikon Sprache, page 177

Political Overlay

Europe: A Continent of Countries or a Composite of Regions?

By Susan Stern

Ms. Stern is a Jewish resident of the Federal Republic of Germany who grew up in the United Kingdom.

So what's Europe? When I gew up in London quite a long time ago, Brits who could afford it went on vacation. Europe was an exotic place where the natives spoke incomprehensible languages, ate funny food and generally behaved like the foreigners they were – but where there was an abundance of sandy beaches and the weather was reputed to be good all the time. I can remember when I had learned enough at school to point out to my parents in snooty schoolgirl fashion that since Britain – oops, Great Britain – was part of Europe, the Brits couldn't very well go there because they were there already. I can remember my Dad pondering this, and correcting himself. We're going to the Continent, he finally said.

I didn't really gain any perspective on Europe until I arrived in the U.S. There, I learned that Europe was indeed a continent made up of lots of different countries – quite definitely including my own Great Britain – all of which were Steeped In History And Culture. This impressed the Americans, many of whom seemed to feel that they themselves didn't have enough of either – well, I was living in Southern California. Their idea of going on vacation to Europe was not to soak up sun on a beach, but to rush around to ancient stony piles with open guide books, saying things like, 'If this is Sunday, we must be in Belgium'. But the Americans had a more differentiated view of Europe than my Dad, for example, because so many of their ancestors came from different parts of it, so at least they knew that there were Significant Differences between the countries.

Over the years, I've learned much more about Europe. Heck, I've ended up living right in the middle of it, in Germany, a country which was redesigned for the umpteenth time at around the time of my birth. I know that Europe's component countries have fought fiercely over the centuries to define, preserve, enlarge their territory. And others have fought equally fiercely not to lose theirs. And after each war, national boundaries have been redrawn so as to reward the victors and punish the losers. Not that the people directly concerned in these bandied-about territories have had much to say about which nation they wanted to belong to – they just woke up one day and read in their newspapers – Today you are part of Germany. Or France. Or Poland. Or wherever.

Take the Alsatians. They live in Alsace, 'beyond the Rhine', on the west side of it to be precise. Originally, they were a Germanic tribe, the Alemani, which was conquered by another Germanic tribe, the Franks – and so on. These hostile takeovers were pretty common in the early Middle Ages. For centuries, Alsace was one of the many areas of Germanic Europe – there was no Germany at the time, just a whole lot of loosely connected principalities, dukedoms, independent cities and the like. At the end of the Thirty Years War, Alsace got handed over to France, where it remained for some time. The Alsatian people, sensibly, kept their language (Aleman German), but had to learn French as well. Then along came Bismarck, who claimed the region as his after he had won the Franco-Prussian war in 1871. So Alsace became part of the new Germany (it was a good thing that the Alsatians hadn't forgotten their language). Then came WWI, which as we all know Germany lost, so Alsace was given back to France (1918). This seemed to suit most of the Alsatians, although they resented the fact that the rest of France didn't really consider them French ... and they continuid to use their variety of the German language at least among themselves. Then along came Hitler, and in 1940, poor old Alsace was annexed to his Third Reich. This, fortunately, came to an end four years later, and – you've guessed it – Alsace was returned to France. Which is where it still was when I last checked yesterday ...

Alsace is just one example among many of European map redistribution. The point is that over the

centuries, the idea of nation-state has been very strong. Whether or not the people of any given area felt all that deeply about their nation is a moot point – their leaders did. Any nationalism – the ideology that preaches that a particular nation, the nation one belongs to, is better than any other nation – has been propagated with enormous success. Since the drawing of boundaries is such an arbitrary matter, the decision as to which nation a particular chunk of Europe 'legitimately' belongs has been and still is the cause of horrendous wars. If Serbia or Russia unilaterally decide that Kosovo or Chechnya historically 'belong' to them, they can declare that any war they wage against so-called secessionists is an internal war against terrorism. it's up to the rest of the world to buy or not to buy that argument.

So where are we today, we Europeans? We still have nation-states, and we still have changing borders. Scotland never chose to be umbilically joined to England, and is in an advanced stage of devolution – one day, it will formally cease to be part of Great Britain. With any luck, bloodlessly. The Northern Irish too may end up outside Great Britain – the unusual thing here being that it is not the Brits that want to keep them in the fold against their will, but the Northern Irish who want to remain British. Then we have the Basques, a small handful of whom – it takes only a few fanatics – will go to almost any lengths to detach themselves from Spain and France. The northern and southern Italians have cordially disliked each other ever since they were united in the 19th century, and the Northern League, a colorful if small political party, is pushing for separation. The Belgians are such a heterogeneous bunch that the two cultural groups inhabiting the small country – the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloons – can hardly bear to communicate with each other on bad days. Czechoslovakia is a country which seemed to disappear overnight while I was on a trip somewhere – now there's a Czech Republic and a Slovakia. And for as long as I can remember, the Spaniards and the Brits have been haggling over Gibraltar, a rock on which monkeys sit.

So what's new, you may be wondering. In the 1950s, some very smart people decided that Something Had To Be Done to knock some sense into the bellicose Europeans and prevent future territorial wars. And they figured that the best way to do this was to make all the countries so economically – and eventually politically – dependent on each other that they simply couldn't afford to invade each other ever again. And indeed, this is pretty much what has happened. In fifty years, we've gone from a small common market to an impressive European Union which is so select that other nations have to queue up to get in – once they have met the entrance requirements, that is. Of the 36 (I think – I haven't counted recently) countries of Europe, 15 are currently members of the exclusive club, with another 12 or so waiting in line. We – well, 12 of those members, and I'm counting myself as a German here – now have our own common money, the euro, and the countries which have adopted it (Britain hasn't yet – typical) are now known as Euroland. And as you'll have realized, this EU of ours is not just a vast trading block or mutual economic benefit society – no, it's become a supranational political entity with a parliament, a vast administration, a justice system, the lot. The principle behind the whole construct is that of subsidiary: the EU has jurisdiction only over those areas and politicies which cannot be handled effectively at lower levels of government, whether national, regional or local. On the whole, it works rather well. Some European nations, and even states within nations – Bavaria, for example – are not happy about parting with any of their political sovereignty, and the strengthening and broadening of the political and judicial powers of the EU is a highly controversial issue which is far from resolved.

So what about the old nation-states? And what about the Europe of Regions that you may have heard about? What's happened is this: the more Europe has grown together as an economic and to a lesser extent political bloc, the more the different regions are asserting their uniqueness and independence. The more the different peoples of Europe feel threatened by a kind of homogenization – the French talk fearfully about our all becoming 'Europuddings', a breed of bland common-culture creatures with no local identity – the more they crave a feeling of belonging to a clearly defined

small area. The Germans call this small area *Heimat* – home territory, where a person feels at one with his/her surroundings, familiar with the locals and their customs. *Heimat* is a return to roots. *Heimat* is happiness. Now, the Germans may have coined a word for the feeling, but almost all Europeans experience this local longing in some way or another, even the yuppie international jet set who, at the end of the long metaphorical day, need to go 'home'.

So – *Heimat* is one form of regionalism, the most personal and local. But beyond the local local (sic) community there is the larger local community which, in the case of Germany, might be a federal state or simply an area in which people share clearly identifiable culture and traditions. The Bavarians (the people who inhabit the Free State of Bavaria) are as far removed in mentality and outlook from the Rhinelanders (the people who inhabit a geographical area which spans several states along the river Rhine) as are the Swabians (people from a broad area stretching from Stuttgart down to Lake Constance) from the Saxons (Saxony, like Bavaria, being a relatively homogeneous state). And so on. Many Germans (and I'll stick to the Germans here – I could, of course, talk about the French, the Italians, the Spaniards or any other Europeans) have a strong regional identity of this kind – in fact, since many Germans are not entirely happy about announcing to the outside world hat they are Germans, they are very likely to view themselves first and foremost as Berliners, Hamburgers, Bavarians or Saxons.

But now comes the interesting part. In this new Europe of ours, the regions – areas in which people are tied together by common bonds – are increasingly spilling over national boundaries. This spillover is not exactly a new phenomenon, since over history, borders have changed so often that central Europeans have gotten somewhat used to having their local community divided by a national border that wasn't there when they went to bed the night before. Take the Alsatian example I mentioned above. So not surprisingly, many local communities have long felt more affinity with their neighbors across the (new) border than with other communities within their (new) country. What has changed in recent times, and what is tied to the process of globalization, is that these cross-border 'regions' are assuming ever more importance as they consolidate their identity as a cultural and economic unit within the far less tangible and unmanageable concept of 'Europe'. They interact closely with each other, cultivate exchanges of all kinds, and generally foster a sense of shared interests – an extended *Heimat*. In other words, geographical areas with a common history may simply ignore political boundaries. This adjacent regionalism was not encouraged in the past, when national European governments tried to prevent crossborder fraternization through deliberate resettlement policies – moving longtime natives from the interior into newly acquired territory in an attempt to squash local identity. No longer. And on a business level, the slogan has become 'think globally, act locally'. You may be running a transnational corporation (and what is Europe if not just that?), but the only way to get anything effectively done is to keep as many operations as possible on the village level.

The informal association of areas with common economic interests is also worth a word or two. This is a virtual (as opposed to adjacent) regionalism, in which people who share similarly-generated wealth but who live geographically apart in different cities, provinces or countries feel more affinity with each other than they do with fellow countrymen pursuing different economic goals – or the same econimic goals but in different ways. London, Frankfurt, Paris and Milan undoubtedly have a lot in common as business and financial centers, and the highly industrialized Catalan region of Spain may well identify more with the Po Valley region of northern Italy than either area does with the rest of its own country. Here, fast transportation, modern communications and the IT revolution all minimize distance and create new regional configurations – European Sunbelts, so to speak. The same kind of economic regions are common in the U.S., but the borders they cross are usually state. Of course, there's always the Pacific North West, where the people of Vancouver feel far more closely related to their counterparts in Seattle than to fellow Canadians from Quebec. Or so I've often been told.

This then is the broad concept of regionalism – the banding together of common interest groups,

whatever the interests might be, within the larger whole. And there are any number of regions and types of regions – theoretically, a person could belong to quite a few. I'm sure I do. And in my opinion, it is regionalism which makes Project Europe (my expression) feasible. For nation states as diverse as the ones that make up Europe are unwieldy enough to administer – Europe as one centralized entity would be entirely impossible. Only as a collection of component parts can Europe be managed. That these parts are not or no longer always identical with the nation-states is just another fascinating twist to the ongoing European saga. Keep your eyes peeled for the next installment!

Lesson 2 What immigration issues currently face Germany and other European Union member states?

Lesson Objective

The student will examine the data related to immigration and its impact on discussions of national citizenship in the member states of the European Union.

Materials and Resources

- Transparency 26 "Pulling Up Roots"
- Handout 3.3 "Foreign Population in Selected European Countries"
- Handout 3.4 "German Citizenship and Naturalization"
- Handout 3.5 "African Immigrants Refusing to Leave France"
- Handout 3.6 "Like It or Not, Germany Becomes a Melting Pot"
- Handout 3.7 "Quietly, Ex-Soviet Jews Are Settling in Germany"

Strategies

Currently, about 15 million migrants in Europe are foreigners in their countries of residence ... they do not have a formal citizenship status. Of these, only 5 million are European Union nationals. Well over half of the foreigners have the status of permanent resident alien, which can be established by living in host countries for a period of from two to ten years. There are also an estimated 3 million undocumented foreigners residing in western European countries.

Introduce this lesson by projecting a copy of Transparency 26, "Pulling Up Roots," and asking students to describe the meaning of the cartoon. Ask, "What does it mean to 'pull up roots'?" What factors might "pull" or "push" people to move to another country? Distribute Handout 3.3, "Foreign Population in Selected European Countries" and ask students to observe the trends evident in the data. Ask "Which country has experienced the most dramatic increase in foreigners in both real numbers and as a percentage of the total population?" The answer is Germany.

The influx of immigrants to Germany has brought about a rethinking of the process for obtaining German citizenship. To help students understand the process, distribute copies of Handout 3.4, "German Citizenship and Naturalization." Lead a discussion of the acquisition of citizenship—*ius sanguinis* (law of heritage) and *ius soli* (law of the birthplace). Ask students to consider the impact of a change in citizenship eligibility on Germany. What are the advantages? The disadvantages?

Divide the class into groups of three students. Provide each group one copy of Handout 3.5,

"African Immigrants Refusing to Leave France," Handout 3.6, "Like It or Not, Germany Becomes a Melting Pot" and Handout 3.7 "Quietly, Ex-Soviet Jews Are Settling in Germany." Ask each student in the group to read one of the articles and then identify the issues of immigration and naturalization found in the article. How would the immigrants meet the criteria for citizenship?

Pulling Up Roots

Foreign Population in Selected European Countries

Absolute numbers in thousands, and as percentage of the total population.

	1960		1976		1996	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
Denmark	17	0.4	91	1.8	223	3.1
Britain	—	—	1,542	2.9	1,875	3.3
Netherlands	118	1.0	351	2.6	725	4.7
Austria	102	1.4	271	3.6	413	5.3
Sweden	191	—	418	5.1	484	5.6
France	—	4.7	3,442	6.6	3,608	6.4
Germany	686	1.2	3,948	6.4	7,173	8.7
Belgium	453	4.9	835	8.5	905	9.1
Switzerland	495	9.2	1,039	16.4	1,100*	16.3*

*Sources: Penninx (1986) for 1960 and 1976 figures for countries except Denmark; Danmarks Statistik (1989) for Denmark; SOPEMI (1992) for 1990 figures. *Excludes seasonal and frontier workers*

Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 23

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German Citizenship and Naturalization

In the context of violence against foreigners in Germany in recent years, observers have pointed out that although the children of Turkish and other immigrant workers are born, raised and educated in Germany and often speak German as their first language, they have for a long time been considered foreigners. Under German law, nationality has for a long time determined by the nationality of the parents, not by the place of birth. This principle is called ius sanguinis, the law of parentage. Ius soli, the law of the birthplace, is the legal principle that determines citizenship by place of birth; it determines nationality in the United States of America and other countries.

The traditional European concept of determining citizenship by descent is the most widely applied concept internationally. It governs the nationality laws of all northern, central and eastern European countries, of Islamic countries, and of Japan. The principle of determining nationality by the place of birth, the ius soli, or law of the birthplace, has its historic roots primarily in the United States, Canada, and Australia, countries colonized by immigrants of different European nationalities who wanted their children to become Americans, Canadians, or Australians. Britain and France, which after World War II took in large numbers of European and non-European residents of former colonies, added the ius soli principle to their nationality laws.

Ethnic Germans are, in most instances, the descendants of German farmers and craftspeople who settled in Russia, Romania and other parts of Eastern Europe in the 18th century. Many were resettled within their countries by Stalin after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in World War II. After the war, some fled to West Germany, but the Cold War prevented the majority from leaving. These ethnic Germans enjoy the "right of return" under Germany's constitution and may take up residence in Germany. The constitution also extends the right to German citizenship to those deprived of it on political, racial, or religious grounds between 1933 and 1945.

A child is a German citizen if one parent is a German citizen. This is true whether the child is born in Germany or in another country. Inheriting the German nationality of one's parents is the only way to become a German citizen automatically or by right. However, the German government intends to restrict the application of the *ius sanguinis* principle for Germans who live permanently in other countries. It is not German government policy to grant German citizenship to every person of German descent or to encourage them to claim it.

Foreign-born immigrants may apply for German citizenship, if they fulfill a number of specific criteria. These include a lengthy stay in Germany and renunciation of their original citizenship.

Recently, new laws were passed granting dual citizenship to children who are born to foreign citizens in Germany if

- at least one parent has legally resided in Germany for eight years.

At the age of 23, the person has to decide for either the parents' or the German citizenship.

Foreigners who have resided legally in Germany for eight years have a claim to naturalization if they:

- give up their previous citizenship,
- have not been convicted of a felony,
- are able to support themselves and their family. *(If the individual becomes dependent upon public assistance for reasons for which he or she is not responsible, this condition is waived).*
- have a sufficient proficiency in the German language.

Spouses and underage children can be naturalized together with the original applicant without having to fulfill the eight-year residency requirement.

Adapted From: German Information Center

African Immigrants Refusing to Leave France

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1996

Agence France-Presse

African immigrants last week in a theater complex in the Bois de Vincennes, Paris. About 250 immigrants living in the shelter refuse to be deported.

African Immigrants Refusing to Leave France

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

PARIS, April 3 — Abdel Kader Wagué-Dodo arrived at Charles de Gaulle Airport nine years ago from the Central African Republic with a tourist visa, hoping for work and a better life.

That was still a time when France welcomed, or at least tolerated, immigrants from its former African colonies.

But after a tide of immigration broke over Europe in the early 1980's, times changed. The French authorities stopped renewing Mr. Wagué-Dodo's residence permit in 1991, and he became an illegal immigrant.

This week he and 250 other Africans, mostly women and children, driven to the eastern fringes of Paris by their refusal to accept rejection, were huddled together against the cold in the Bois de Vincennes, in a theater complex — the third temporary shelter they have lived in over the last two weeks.

Their refusal to take no from the authorities is new, in an increasingly inhospitable Europe that is unable to deal with its chronic unemployment problem and prone to regard immigrants as scapegoats. But these people, many proudly wearing their African vestments from places like Mali, Senegal and Somalia, are neither homeless nor vagrant.

They are militants who over the last two weeks have been demonstrating for the right to stay, by occupying first a church and then a gymnasium in northern Paris to call attention to their demands.

"I have two children born in France before they changed the law, and they are French citizens," Mr. Wagué-Dodo said. "I've been two or three times to the prefecture to try to explain, but my wife has no papers.

"Now I've been summoned to the police station, but I know that if I go, they'll handcuff me and put me on the next plane to Bangui," he said, referring to the capital of his native country. "I have nothing there, nothing."

So he stays, with the rest, in the Theater of the Cartoucherie, a former arsenal in the Bois de Vincennes named for its dramatic productions. The theater's director, Ariane Mnouchkine, allowed the group to stay until next Wednesday, but has asked them to prevent others from joining them in the meantime.

The demonstrators are trying to work something out with the French authorities, but so far, the reactions augur little change of heart. Even Abbé Pierre, a symbol of French toleration in a country increasingly intolerant of foreign immigration, said last week, "France has a reputation as a welcoming country, but today, the problem is more than we can handle."

> Africans have taken shelter in a church, a gym and now a theater.

The African occupation of St. Ambroise Church in the working-class 11th district of Paris ended when the police swooped in and expelled them, adult and child alike, before dawn on March 22, at the parish priest's request.

Two days earlier, the Archbishop of Paris, Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, had visited the church to express sympathy and concern for the plight of the occupiers. "Churches are not zones beyond the law or rules of safety," the Cardinal said later. "What would have happened if there had been a panic in St. Ambroise?"

Cardinal Lustiger accused political groups that support refugees and asylum-seekers of using the Africans as pawns in a political struggle with the authorities. Immigration laws in France and Germany were tightened sharply in 1993 after a wave of foreign refugees poured into the continent following the collapse of Communism in central and eastern Europe.

The most important groups active in arranging supplies of rice and milk for the Africans temporarily staying here are Rights First, an organization that supports the homeless, and S.O.S.-Racism, which is associated with the opposition Socialist Party in France.

"We all pay rent and have homes," said Madji Guène, a Senegalese mother who said her husband was legally registered and employed as a teacher near Paris. "We left our homes to demonstrate for the right to legal residence permits here," she said.

Though her husband had a job, she could not get a residence visa for herself or for two of their three children. "They are Senegalese," she said. "Everything has changed. Before, we used to be able to get papers in Dakar, and come and be welcome in France. Then the authorities got tough."

Prime Minister Alain Juppé promised close examination of each individual case for everyone involved in the occupation of the church. Mr. Wagué-Dodo said that nobody trusted in the assurance. "All I want from the French is recognition that I'm in a special situation," he said.

Exceptions are a thing of the past, and the authorities are taking a hard line. They sent seven men without families arrested at St. Ambroise back to Africa at French Government expense, and flew back more than 600 other people to their places of origin last year.

"One of them called us from Mali after he got there and told us that he and his friends roughed up the French police who accompanied them after they arrived," said Diop Abubacar, one of the demonstrators at the Cartoucherie. "They told them that the French were no longer the masters in Mali," he said.

In all, the French authorities returned more than 10,000 would-be immigrants in 1995, according to official figures.

For asylum-seekers, the odds have mounted sharply, as they have all over Europe. Of the 19,000 applicants for political asylum in France, fewer than 3,000 were accepted, according to French Government authorities.

Even refugees from Algeria, a country racked by conflict between the Government and its Islamic fundamentalist opponents, got short shrift last year, according to official figures that showed that only 16 of the 2,388 Algerians who made their way to France and applied for refugee status in 1995 got it.

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Like It or Not, Germany Becomes a Melting Pot

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1997

Like It or Not, Germany Becomes a Melting Pot

By ALAN COWELL

BERLIN — Almost 30 years ago, Elbeyi Inci left his home on Turkey's Black Sea coast and came to West Germany to work on construction sites — one of the so-called guest workers lured by official design to the dynamo of the postwar economic miracle. At that time, foreigners were less than 4 percent of West Germany's population.

These days, according to his son Sabri, Mr. Inci's descendants in Berlin number about 20. They include the four of Sabri's five children who were born in Germany. Sabri spoke in an interview at the Inci Pizza, the family business on a street in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin where Turkish overwhelms German.

Now, roughly 7.1 million of Germany's population of 82 million, or almost 9 percent, are foreigners, the highest proportion in Europe, far ahead of the continental average of 5 percent and well above that of such countries as France (5.7 percent) and Britain (3.8 percent).

The combination of numbers and stories like that of the Inci family might suggest that Germany, whose foreign population was a negligible 1.3 percent of the total in 1960, is being forced into an unfamiliar cosmopolitanism not only by economic factors but also by Europe's changed dynamics after the cold war.

But if Germany is being forced to acknowledge that it has become a melting pot, then it is doing so with extreme reluctance. When guest workers came to Germany 20 to 30 years ago, jobs were plentiful, and the expectation was that with short-term residence rights they would disappear when they were no longer useful.

Now, jobs are scarce, and Germany's unemployment stands at a record 4.5 million. But many foreigners have acquired permanent residence rights in a land that is less interested in diversity than in cohesion and that does not want to be viewed as an immigrant nation as the United States once was.

"Foreigners seeking German citizenship must through their behavior show a credible integration into our social and state order," said Erwin Marschewski, a Christian Democratic spokesman on internal affairs.

And as a divisive debate over the future citizenship of foreigners born here seems to suggest, many Germans — particularly those close to Chancellor Helmut Kohl — are reluctant to abandon the principle that the nation's core be made up of Germans who can trace the ancestral blood line demanded by a 1913 citizenship law that still defines the essence of German nationality.

The whole debate about citizenship was incited by a proposal by the Free Democrats, the junior partner in the coalition Government, to permit foreigners born in Germany to hold dual citizenship until the age of 18. After that, they would have to choose one nationality or the other.

But Interior Minister Manfred Kanther, who belongs to Mr. Kohl's Christian Democrats, insisted, "There will never be dual nationality in Germany." Indeed, said Finance Minister Theo Waigel, rather than devise new rules, the best solution to Germany's problems might be "a sensible limit on immigration." The idea is stuck in political wrangling.

Unlike the United States but like most other European countries, Germany does not automatically grant citizenship to children born here of foreign parents. They may only apply for citizenship under strict rules once they have reached age 18.

Increasingly, however, the definition of who is a German is being challenged by people like Ozlem Inci, Sabri Inci's 19-year-old daughter. She has applied to become German, in part because she feels remote from the land of her forebears and has none of a previous generation's attachment to a country she has seen only on vacation.

"I'm not thinking of going to live in Turkey; I grew up here," she said, speaking a much more confident German than her father after her years in German schools, which have left her far more open to mixing with Germans, even dating them.

"People like me are foreigners in Turkey," she said. "They call us the Deutschlanders. There you are not a real Turk, and here you are not a complete German. We are somewhere in between."

The aim of the dual citizenship proposal is to prevent Germany's growing population of foreigners from becoming alienated minorities. But the response to it has said as much about the fears of many Germans as it has about the aspirations of many foreigners.

Easing the rules on citizenship, Mr. Kohl said recently, would double the number of Turks streaming into Germany. The remark drew widespread criticism from Turkish groups and from Germany's Jewish organizations as likely to worsen anti-foreign sentiment.

The urgency of the debate is a result of the startled recognition by officials that contrary to the original vision of the guest workers' doing their bit for Germany and then going home, and despite immigration policies that have become more restrictive in recent years, an established immigrant population has grown with its own youthful dynamics.

Almost one-quarter of all foreigners are under 18. And, most telling of all, more than 50 percent of legally registered foreigners under 18 were born in this country, a phenomenon that German officials call "immigration by birth."

"The longer-term demographic development is characterized by a reduction in the proportion of Germans in the population and a drastic increase in the younger age groups," said the latest report issued by officials dealing with legal immigrants. It does not reflect untold numbers of clandestine immigrants, largely from Africa and Eastern Europe.

Not only have the Turks, Yugoslavs and Italians imported to fuel the economic miracle grown into a settled community of around 3.4 million — two million of them from Turkey — but the ranks of Germany's foreign population have also swollen with war refugees from the former Yugoslavia, asylum-seekers from many parts of the world and East Europeans drawn to the Continent's traditional economic powerhouse. Berlin alone has a Russian population estimated at 100,000. And Italians who first arrived as guest workers now have automatic rights under European Union rules to live and work in any of the Union's 15 member countries, including Germany.

At the same time, the very nature of the economic pickings that drew the guest workers here has changed. Like his father before him, Mr. Inci came to work on construction sites. But since 1992, he and his brother have been running the modest Inci Pizza eatery, which is just one of 42,000 Turkish-owned businesses ranging from kebab stands to textile companies and travel agencies.

For all that, though, Germans and Turks remain keenly aware of the distinctions between the groups. "Even if I had a German passport, I would still feel like a foreigner and be regarded as a foreigner," Mr. Inci said.

Indeed, Miss Inci said, even though some of her friends have married Germans, qualifying for German passports, there are parts of Berlin where she feels uncomfortable, even threatened, because of violent right-wing extremists who flourished in the early 1990's and attacked Turks and other immigrants.

"I'm at home here," she said, gesturing to a part of the Kreuzberg district that is overwhelmingly inhabited by Turks, "but there are parts of Berlin where I don't feel at home at all."

Mario Tobaldo/Agence, for The New York Times

A debate over the future citizenship of foreigners born in Germany is dividing the country. Ozlem Inci, 19, working with her Turkish father, Sabri, in the family's pizzeria in Berlin, has applied to become German.

'Guest workers' are not so welcome in Germany now.

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Quietly, Ex Soviet Jews Are Settling in Germany

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1995

Quietly, Ex-Soviet Jews Are Settling in Germany

By ALAN COWELL

MAGDEBURG, Germany, Sept. 22 — In a modest and often ambiguous way, Jews are returning to the land of the Holocaust.

On this Friday evening, as a pale sun sets over a grimy street near the railroad tracks in this nondescript East German town, Remmy Stern, a cantor from Israel; Tatiana Pivsetska, a stateless person from Latvia, and Jakow Boljanski, an elderly Ukrainian, gather with about 40 other people in the synagogue at the Jewish Culture Association to recite prayers for the Sabbath.

They are part of a quiet footnote to Germany's reunification five years ago. Since 1990, more than 22,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union have come to settle in the land that once sought to exterminate Jews, and they have almost doubled the Jewish population to around 50,000.

Propelled as much by economic quest as by any spiritual mission, many have come with few possessions and little knowledge of their faith, fugitives from places where being a Jew earned opprobrium and being a Jew and a Russian was worse.

Their exodus — small by comparison with the hundreds of thousands of former Soviet Jews who have emigrated to Israel since the fall of the Soviet Union — has been less than triumphant. Thousands of migrants, leaders of German Jewish groups say, are not Jews at all. And Israel has insisted that those who are Jews would be better off in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem than in Germany.

The number of migrants who have been accepted as Jews by official Jewish organizations in Germany is only about two-thirds of the 35,000 former Soviet citizens who have claimed to be Jewish to enter Germany under regulations permitting Jewish migration. Some were rejected because their papers were forged, others because they could not prove matrilineal Jewish descent.

"There is no half way — you are either a Jew or not a Jew," said Ignatz Bubis, head of the Central Council of German Jews, the main Jewish representative group in Germany. "I have nothing against people coming to Germany, but not on the Jewish ticket."

Moreover, the re-assertion of Jewish life here has been dogged by a legacy of Communist manipulation in the former East Germany.

During the Communist era, for instance, there were only 20 people in this town who described themselves as Jews. One of the most prominent was Ulrich Levi, who headed Magdeburg's Jewish Cultural Association. Since then, a rabbinical court ruled that Mr. Ulrich was not a Jew at all, reinforcing unproven suspicions among other Jews that the organization was a front used by the Communists for political purposes.

"In the old days, the Jewish communities were alibis, a way of saying: we don't agree with Israel, but we don't have anything against the Jews," said Peter Ledermann, a German Jew who lives here.

Now, according to Mr. Ledermann, 170 Jews live in Magdeburg, virtually all of them from the former Soviet Union.

Speaking with a reporter in the dilapidated three-story building that houses the synagogue and meeting rooms, some of them tried to answer a fundamental question: Why of all places on earth, did they choose Germany over, say, Israel as a place to live?

"In Israel, people also are afraid," said Mr. Boljanski, the 70-year-old Ukrainian who came here from Odessa with his family three years ago. "Arabs kill Jews there. There are bombs on buses. They are afraid there, too."

In Odessa, Mr. Boljanski said, "all the Jews are looking for other places to go," and "there is so much anti-Semitism, so much racism."

Mr. Boljanski's son Mark, a 40-year-old elevator mechanic, said: "It's not so unusual to come to this country. It's normal."

Max Grinberg, a 46-year-old former fencing instructor who arrived here from Ukraine three years ago, put it this way: "We are European people. We are not from the Orient."

"It's easier to come here than America if you don't have relatives there," he added. "The social security is better than in Israel."

After prayers, the worshipers partake of gefilte fish and kosher wine — hard to come by in a land where there are kosher stores only in Frankfurt and Berlin. But that is not the only difficulty.

According to Mr. Bubis of the Central Council of German Jews, the Israeli Government would prefer that all the Jews from the former Soviet Union went to Israel. "We support that," he said. "But if someone decides to come to Germany, we see it as our duty to help these people, not reject them."

When Soviet migrants come to Germany, they first register with a Government office in Cologne that assigns them to hostels in various cities. Then they look for apartments, live on social security handouts and, very occasionally, find jobs. Russian qualifications in many professions are not automatically accepted, and only manual workers find employment easily.

"The great majority are unemployed," said Mr. Ledermann, who is the director of the Jewish Cultural Association, which is partly financed by the German state authorities.

In part, their high unemployment rate also reflects Germany's economic imbalance. Joblessness is much higher in the east than in the west, and only about one-seventh of the 35,000 Soviet migrants to Germany since 1990 have remained in the former East Germany. Most prefer to go west.

Nevertheless, he said, a further 60,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union have applied to come to Germany, and the number is likely to increase over the next few years.

"In Ukraine, we felt deep down we were Jews but couldn't show it," said Mr. Grinberg, a sometime fencing instructor who now works part time tending Jewish cemeteries around Magdeburg. "Here you can openly say: I'm a Jew."

But in a city known for outbursts of xenophobia, not all Jews would say it so loudly. Indeed, as people leave the Jewish Center here, the men slip off their yamulkes to avoid drawing attention to themselves.

"So many things remind me of the Holocaust," said Claudia Oppenheimer, Mr. Ledermann's Israeli wife. "The world outside this room is so non-Jewish."

"I don't like to say I'm a Jew because I'm still afraid," said Dimitri Gewerzew, 22, from Kiev. "In the Soviet Union you couldn't say you were a Jew because that meant you weren't human, and I'm still afraid people will think that."

Fabian Bimmer for The New York Times

Seven-year-old Stanislav Boljanski, whose family chose to leave Odessa in Ukraine to live in Germany, greets a member of the congregation at Sabbath prayers in the synagogue in Magdeburg on Friday.

The New York Times

Jews from the former Soviet Union are settling in Magdeburg.

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Lesson 3 How does the legacy of the Holocaust continue to play a role in Germany and Europe today?

Lesson Objective

The student will describe the legacy of guilt on Germans and Europeans resulting from the Holocaust.

Materials and Resources

- Handout 3.8 "Just How Sorry Can You Get? Pretty Sorry"
- Handout 3.9 "Americans Are Natural Teachers of National Pride"
- Handout 3.10 "Holocaust Education in Germany"
- Handout 3.11 "German Restitution for National Socialist Crimes"
- Handout 3.12 "Israel's Ties With Germany Elude U.S. Jews"

Strategies

More than fifty years after the end of World War II, Europe today is awash with news that nations which considered themselves neutral or even victims of the Nazis actually profited from the tragedy. There was trafficking in gold, strategic minerals, art, and real estate. Newly opened archives reveal that others knew of the slaughter of Jews and stayed silent. The test for these countries today is not what they did then, but what they will do now to address the truth.

Begin this lesson by asking students what it means to apologize and show contrition. Have students give examples from today's headlines of apologies, or lack thereof, and the consequences. To trace recent examples of remorse by leaders of various nations, have students read Handout 3.8, "Just How Sorry Can You Get? Pretty Sorry." Debrief the article by asking students to make a list of the events addressed in the article, the event for which contrition is sought, and the response of the offending nation. Discuss the following questions:

- Which nations have expressed regret for past "sins"?
- Which nations have been pressed for apologies and failed to respond? Why might a nation choose a particular course of action?
- How is the German government's response to the Holocaust different from the responses of other nations to horrific events?

Three generations of Germans have grown to maturity since the Nazi terror and World War II.

As an immigrant nation, the United States has been viewed as a melting pot, a mosaic, and a salad bowl. In every case, the underlying theme

was that of coming to a new home and becoming a citizen of the United States. National pride has been a unifying, positive force in the history of our nation. Germans, on the other hand, view nationalistic pride with more reserve, in part because of the relationship of nationalism with the Nazi party during the 1930s and 1940s. To dramatize this point, have students read Handout 3.9, "Americans Are Natural Teachers of National Pride." When they finish, have students list examples of how citizens of the United States comfortably hold multiple loyalties — they passionately express their patriotism as Atlantans, Georgians, Southerners, and/or "Americans," given different settings. Have students express how Germans of different generations may express or avoid nationalism differently. What events have brought about these differences?

Holocaust education has figured prominently in the curriculum of German schools since the early 1950s. This special emphasis has had an impact on Germans in many ways. Handout 3.10, "Holocaust Education in Germany," describes the role of the Holocaust in the curriculum. Have students compare Holocaust education in Germany with their experiences as students in the United States. Ask:

- Are the purposes for Holocaust education the same in both nations?
- How extensive is Holocaust education in the curriculum of the two nations?

From the time of its founding in 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany assumed responsibility for making reparation for crimes committed during the Nazi era to the extent that it is possible. No matter how large the sum, no amount of money will ever suffice to compensate for the persecution. But in dealing with the legacy of the Hitler regime, the Federal Republic of Germany has, since 1951, established a precedent for legislating and implementing a comprehensive system of restitution for the injustices of the era. By early 1996, Germany had provided more than DM 97 billion in restitution. Additional reparation is being made to German-speaking Eastern European Jewish victims of National Socialist persecution in the form of social security payments and war victims' relief payments. Handout 3.11, "German Restitution for National Socialist Crimes," provides data regarding funds pledged and public expenditures.

Next have students read Handout 3.12 "Israel's Ties With Germany Elude U.S. Jews." The article describes Germany's quiet, continually growing support of Israel. Ask students to list examples of the German-Israeli relationship. Ask "Were you surprised at any of the points in the article? Why do American Jews seem to lag behind Israeli's in acknowleding the relationship between Germany and Israel? "Conclude the lesson by having students write a letter to the editor or draw an editorial cartoon summarizing the relationship and the perspective of U.S. Jews. Send the most effective to your local newspaper for possible publication.

Conclude this lesson by asking students ro read Handout 3.13 "The Holocaust: An American Memory?" This article reflects the two perspectives from which Germans and Americans view the Holocaust as a national "collective memory." End the lesson by asking students to read to the conclusion and presumptions outlined by the author in his last two paragraphs. Where do the students stand?

Just How Sorry Can You Get? Pretty Sorry

With instructive prodigality, the English language offers a variety of formulations for the commonest of expressions: I'm sorry. The offending party can beg pardon, apologize, offer regrets or voice remorse, after which the culprit can confess error, fault or guilt while promising to atone, repent and/or compensate. Nowadays contrition in all its shadings seems routine as leaders everywhere engage in a kind of premillennial washing of the spears.

In past decades, the widespread official outlook could often be summarized by the British Admiral Lord Fisher's phrase, "Never apologize, never explain," while this year conscience-stricken notables in France, Switzerland, Japan and the Czech Republic have expressed remorse for sins perpetrated during and after World War II. Tony Blair, the new British Prime Minister, has regretted England's lapses during last century's Irish famine, and Queen Elizabeth II was pressed (vainly) to apologize for the 1919 Amristar massacre while visiting India. Still undecided is whether Britain will apologize for Bloody Sunday, the 1972 killings in Northern Ireland. In South Africa, former President F. W. De Klerk has apologized for the pain inflicted by apartheid, and in Washington, President Clinton [was] pressured to apologize formally to the descendants of African slaves.

Some fear that after years of ignoring past sins, national leaders have moved from stonewall to mush, cheapening a precious gesture. Others wonder why the living should apologize for the long deceased, asking tongue-in-cheek if Spain should now apologize for the Inquisition. For their part, some victims disdain official apologies as cheap substitutes for real reparations.

Still this ignores the cathartic effect of contrition for individuals as well as nations ... Recent experience suggests that the quest for absolution passes through stages.

Mistakes Were Made. The lowest rung of contrition is acknowledgement, in the passive voice of Richard Nixon during the Watergate years, that mistakes were made, usually by unidentified subordinates whose motives are otherwise pure. The context is usually lets-get-this-behind-us, as in the admission by President Jiang Zemin of China, while speaking at Harvard, that we may have shortcomings and even make mistakes in our work, which some analysis (though not all) read as an expression of regret for the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre.

President Boris N. Yeltsin, in an appeal for reconciliation, chose the 80th anniversary of Lenin's 1917 revolution to declare that the uprising itself was a fateful, historic mistake, but he carefully balanced this by recalling the achievements under Communism. Trying to have it both ways also distinguishes ritualized apologies by American politicians and sports figures under attack for off-the-cuff discretions. If whatever I said unwittingly gave offense, I apologize completely.

We Were Wrong, But So Was Everybody. Politicians and bureaucracies usually hate acknowledging moral guilt, even when a wrong was perpetuated decades earlier by a regime that no longer exists. This is notably the case in Japan, whose government declined to apologize for Pearl Harbor on the 50th anniversary of the attack, insisting, as a subcabinet secretary explained, that the entire world was in fact responsible for World War II. Only after heated debates did Japan more recently express remorse (but not apologize) for wartime affronts against Korean comfort women.

Still, Americans who judge Japan severly might reflect on America's own wars of conquest against Indians, Mexicans and Spaniards, for which there has been no apology.

Now the Truth Can Be Told. A higher hurdle for the penitent is the opening of security archives to divulge human rights crimes. Starting in Latin America in the 1980s, this has been done through a truth commission whose findings are linked to an

amnesty. It was before such a forum in South Africa that former President de Klerk apologized for apartheid and one time torturers confessed their crimes in exchange for amnesty. In Washington declassified documents revealed that African-Americans were used as medical guinea pigs at Tuskegee Institute, prompting a formal apology by the President.

But tardy confessions can backfire, as in the case for former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, who ended a long silence about Vietnam to acknowledge that in fact he had doubted the rightness of the war while still serving President Lyndon B. Johnson. Then why didn't he resign and go public when it might have mattered more, critics asked. Mr. McNamara could only apologize for not having a satisfactory answer.

Conscience Money. Paying compensation to those a country has wronged may not cleanse the slate or buy forgiveness but can be real evidence of penance. After 1947, West Germany offered generous restitution for Nazi crimes to Israel, Jewish organizations, the Allies and formerly occupied countries. Bonn's payments are reckoned at approximately 80 billion Deutsche Marks.

But Bonn's gesture involved more than money. As related by Ian Buruma in "Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan," schoolbooks in the Federal Republic of Germany has tried to confront a dark past, which cannot readily be said of Austria (whose former President, Kurt Waldheim, has not apologized for lying about his wartime service) or Switzerland, which waited 50 years before listing bank accounts opened by Hitler's victims.

Head-Bowed Repentance. The ultimate symbol of contrition is when the leader of a state, head bowed, assumes a posture of humility and penitence, an event so unusual that it can be remembered for centuries. So it happened in the Middle Ages when the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, quarreled with Pope Gregory VII over lay investiture and was excommunicated. In the year 1077, Henry turned up alone and barefoot on a snowy day before the Pope's castle in Canossa, an image of repentance that lived in art and folk memory, even though Henry renewed his quarrel and later triumphed over his papal adversary.

Nine centuries later, in 1971, another German leader, this time of a functioning democracy, fell on his knees in the Warsaw ghetto to apologize for what the Nazis had done. The gesture was all the more powerful since Chancellor Willy Brandt had opposed Hitler from the first, and his wordless act of atonement meant more than a thousand speeches. It is perhaps the best single example of the
latent power of apology, if offered by the right person at the right moment for the right reason.

Karl E. Meyer, The New York Times, Saturday, November 29, 1997

Americans Are Natural Teachers of National Pride

By Andrea Witt

I was in a tailor shop in New York, talking to an old man, when I first saw it. The sleeve of his shirt exposed a thin forearm. Barely visible after all those years, covered by graying hair, there was the tattoo. The number, forever imprinted by the Nazis to mark him as an outcast, an inferior, a prisoner of the death camps.

The old man smiled and asked me, "So, what country are you from?"

I remember the heat, the sweat breaking out on my hands and the thoughts flying through my head: Holocaust, I am German, genocide, Germany, death, extinction, responsibility, German. And in the end there was only the feeling of guilt, and the silence. I stared helplessly at the old man, then turned around and left the shop. I couldn't speak to him.

That was my first encounter with a Holocaust survivor. One way for a German to meet her country's history.

Today, I think it was more than a mere coincidence that I met that old man during my first visit to the United States, five years ago.

Visiting America always has meant more to me than simply experiencing a different country and lifestyle. It has also been a kind of mirror, a way of reflecting on my own culture, history and what the words "being German" mean.

Americans celebrate and even embrace their nationality in ways that would never occur in Germany. Growing up, I learned to relate words such as "nation," "fatherland," "patriotism" and "flag" to the terrible nationalism and destruction that Germany brought to the world. Although I consider Germany today a healthy democracy like other Western countries, it's still hard for me to say out loud, "I'm proud to be German." I sometimes envy Americans who say so easily, "I'm proud to be an American."

Simple things still strike me in the States. The willingness, or better yet, the happiness that most Americans show when they jump up to sing their national anthem. In Germany not even an international soccer game can provoke more than a handful of people to sing. The majority remains quiet. Some even boo.

We have qualms about singing our full national anthem, the words written by August von Fallersleben in 1841. It's almost a crime to sing the first verse, which is strongly associated with Nazi ideology.

Every time I am abroad and hear the first tones of my country's anthem, I fear they will start singing that first verse: "Germany, Germany above all others, above all others in the entire world."

The other night I went to a nightclub in Buckhead. I saw a woman on the dance floor. Her dress was made from the American flag. I was dumbstruck. What an outrageous idea. Back in Berlin, even close friends would stare at me in bewilderment were I ever to show up like that, draped in the German flag. They might ask me whether I had joined some right-wing movement. It's not that I despise the German flag. I believe in the things it stands for now: a democracy that has grown for 50 years, a constitution that applies to a reunited Germany. I honor those beliefs, but I'd rather not deal with the national symbols of them, such as the flag and the anthem. Everything patriotic gives me a shudder.

But living in the United States not only taught me more about how I feel about Germany. I have also learned how Americans view my country. And I feel sad when I realize how little people in this country know about Germany. There is more to Germany than Nazism, the autobahn, and Oktoberfest.

I find myself telling Americans about the strong political system in Germany and the social network that is provided for the poor. And about the rich cultural life I enjoy so much in Berlin.

Americans Are Natural Teachers of National Pride

The other day, an American friend mentioned casually, "You sure are proud to be German." I guess I have come a long way, because I admitted to him that, yes, I am proud of my country's achievements.

The time I have spent in the United States has changed me. It has helped me develop a better, healthier attitude toward being German.

I realized that last month in Atlanta, when I met Benjamin Hirsch, the architect, another Holocaust survivor. Hirsch sat across from me and said angrily: "I'm sick and tired of Germans begging for my forgiveness. I can't forgive them. Only the real victims could do that and they are dead."

I found myself thinking about the old man I had met in New York five years ago. The heat, the embarrassment and the silence. This time I was able to speak.

"I believe that all Germans share responsibility for the Holocaust," I said as Hirsch nodded in agreement. "But the guilt, the guilt belongs to the real offenders."

Not to the next generations.

Andrea Witt, 26, is a reporter for Maerkische Oderzeitung in Frankfurt/Oder, Germany, on a two-month fellowship at The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Holocaust Education in Germany

World War II and Hitler's dictatorship have in fact figured prominently in the curriculum of (West) German schools since the early 1950s and in the schools of united Germany since 1990. From the 1960s onward, special emphasis has been placed upon conveying the horrors of the Holocaust. Outside the school curriculum, World War II, the Holocaust, the Jewish issues are often featured in print media, in television, and in the world of arts.

Education in Germany is the responsibility of the German states. Education policy is coordinated on a national level by a standing conference of state ministers of education and cultural affairs. It is this body that has issued specific guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust. The treatment of the Nazi period in all its aspects is part of the compulsory curriculum in all German schools and at all levels of education. The Holocaust is treated as the most important aspect of the period of Nazi rule.

The Holocaust is treated in various school subjects in different ways:

- In history classes, the Nazi period is dealt with in the context of 20th century German or world history.
- In civics and current affairs classes the lessons of the Holocaust are related to teaching about German political institutions and about the values that govern political life in a democratic society. Tolerance and the role of law are a primary focus of these lessons.
- In religion and ethics classes, the Holocaust is discussed with reference to the guilt and responsibility of those Germans who did not risk their lives to fight National Socialism or to protect Jews.
- Much postwar German literature is concerned with coming to terms with the Nazi era and the Holocaust.
- A visit to a Holocaust memorial or a Holocaust museum at the site of a former concentration camp is a standard feature of German school excursions.

The objective of teaching about the Holocaust is not limited to educating students about historical facts. Instead, the primary political and educational objective for confronting young Germans with their country's darkest past and their ancestors' guilt is, above all, to make them understand the consequences of Hitler's dictatorship, the uniqueness of the Holocaust, and to make them appreciate the values and institutions that protect freedom and democracy.

Excerpted from: Focus On... Holocaust Education in Germany, German Information Center. n.d.

For examples of Holocaust education in Germany, request a copy of the cd-rom "Learning From History: The Nazi Era and the German Holocaust" from the German Information Center

German Restitution for National Socialist Crimes

Table 1

Funds pledged by the Federal Republic of Germany as a result of global agreements with European nations and with the United States.

COUNTRY	DATE OF AGREEMENT	APPROX AMOUNT MILLIONS DM
Luxembourg	July 11, 1959	18
Norway	August 7, 1959	60
Denmark	August 24, 1959	16
Greece	March 18, 1960	115
Holland	April 8, 1960	125
France	July 15, 1960	400
Belgium	September 28, 1960	80
Italy	June 2, 1961	40
Switzerland	June 29, 1961	10
United Kingdom	June 9, 1964	11
Sweden	August 4, 1964	1
Poland	October 16, 1991	500
Belarus	March 3, 1993	200
Russian Federation	March 3, 1993	400
Ukraine	March 3, 1993	400
United States	September 19, 1995	3
	TOTAL	DM 2,379 billion

Table 2

Public expenditures in restitution for Nazi damages, in billions DM (as of January 1, 1996)

CATEGORY	AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURE
Compensation of victims	75,565
Restitution for lost property	3,938
Compensatory pensions	700
Israel Agreement	3,450
Global agreements with 16 nations	2,379
Other (civil service, etc.)	8,400
Payments by German states	2,350
Final restitution in special cases	1,061
Total	97,843

Israel's Ties With Germany Elude U.S. Jews

By Roger Cohen

Tel Aviv, Feb. 25 – Avi Primor, a former Israeli ambassador to Germany, travels regularly to the United States to tell American Jewish groups how good Israeli-German ties have become. "Their reaction," he said, "is often one of shock, pain and indignation. They want to preserve Germany in their minds as a negative nation."

From the ashes of the Holocaust, a curious friendship has been born : 56 years after the fall of Hitler's Reich, and 36 years after the establishment of diplomatic relations, Germany has become Israel's most important ally outside the United States, providing critical support in the military, intelligence, political and economic fields.

But this rapprochement – not widely advertised, but continually growing – has largely eluded the relationship between Germany and American Jews.

Indeed, as memory of the Holocaust looms large in American life, and wrangles persist over compensation for Jewish victims of the Nazis, the American Jewish view of Germany often seems mired in the Nazi past alone.

"American Jews have always been a step or two behind Israel in understanding Germany's postwar evolution," said David A. Harris, the executive director of the American Jewish Committee.

"American Jews have had the luxury of avoiding Germany, even boycotting its products – a luxury Israel could not afford."

The result is an odd disparity : in recent years, Germany has intensified its ties with Israel, quietly providing three submarines, as the difficulties between American Jews and Germany have multiplied and the feeling has spread among Germans that they are the objects of a "Holocaust industry."

"The recent negotiations on compensation for slave and forced laborers under the Nazis have left rancor in Germany," said Deidre Berger, who directs the office of the American Jewish Committee in Berlin. "Many German companies feel they are being blackmailed by American Jews. On the other side, there's a lot of enduring prejudice in the American Jewish community – the prejudice that Germany can never be trusted."

Of course, hostility to Germans exists in Israel, too, and commemoration of the Holocaust remains important. Kirsten Praefcke-Meron, a German woman married to an Israeli in Tel Aviv, recalls an Israeli child pointing to her daughter in school on a recent Holocaust Memorial Day and saying, "She's a Nazi."

Among American Jews, meanwhile, there are signs of growing interest in the contemporary democratic reality of Germany rather than its Nazi past. The move of the capital to Berlin has caused new curiosity; five major American Jewish groups are scheduled to visit this year – an unprecedented exchange.

Still, the responses to Germany of the Jewish state and of Jews in America remain a study in divergent paths and psychologies.

The former relationship has been driven by pragmatic involvement, shared postwar experiences and the effect of Israel's experience fighting wars since the Holocaust, which by no means defines Israeli identity.

The first Israeli passports, issued after the state's creation in 1948, declared themselves valid "for all states except Germany." But, long before diplomatic relations were established in 1965, the first rapprochement occurred with the 1952 accord on German reparations reached between David Ben-Gurion, the Israeli prime minister, and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The reparations would involve the payment of over $50 billion, to individual Israelis and to the state of Israel. Because some reparations were paid in kind – machinery, industrial investment, spare parts, ships, locomotives – they brought postwar Germans and Israelis together in a way that has scant equivalent with American Jews.

Israelis had to learn from Germans how to use the machinery and ships – and friendships were

Israel's Ties With Germany Elude U.S. Jews

formed. Most Israelis gained the feeling that the financial consequences of the Holocaust were settled – hence their indifference, even irritation, at the recent American Jewish push for compensation from German industry.

By contrast, Germany's relationship with American Jews has often suffered from distance, bitterness and what sometimes looks to Germans like an American Jewish fixation on a traumatic past.

With the cold war over, the last generation of Holocaust survivors dying, and other sources of Jewish identity weakening, the Holocaust has become a crucial touchstone. American Jews used to identify with Israel as a plucky, isolated Jewish state, and with the plight of Soviet Jewry. But now Israel has become a regional power whose policies in the occupied territories are, for some at least, hard to defend, and the Soviet issue has disappeared.

Today, an investigation in Germany and Israel suggests, German support is central to Israel's security, even if it is kept quiet partly because of German concerns about the reactions of the Arab world and domestic public opinion.

Relations between the two countries' intelligence services are particularly intense, officials said. Germany provides Israel with extensive information on the Arab world, and Israel reciprocates with intelligence on Eastern Europe and Russia where, in the words of one informed Israeli, "we have people with a lot of understanding."

Germany, for example, is acting quietly to secure the release of three Israeli soldiers kidnapped last October by Hezbollah, the Shiite Muslim militant group based in Lebanon.

Germany is also Israel's second-most important military partner, after the United States, working together on development of some weapons, providing technology and giving Israel two highly sophisticated submarines (while splitting the cost of a third) as a gesture after the Persian Gulf war.

Germany has become Israel's second-largest trading partner, after the United States, and sends more tourists to Israel than any country except America. As for politics, Germany "is now our mainstay and chief advocate in Europe," said Reuven Merhav, a former director-general at the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

In effect, European Middle East policy is largely determined by Germany's role in counterbalancing France's stance as the most forthright supporter in Europe of the Palestinian cause.

The annual human rights report of the German Foreign Ministry contains no reference to Israeli actions in the occupied territories, in contrast to the criticism of extrajudicial Israeli killings of Palestinians in the equivalent American report.

"Relations between Germany and Israel are special and must never normalize themselves in the sense that we have normal relations with Holland or the United States," said Rudolf Dressler, the German ambassador to Israel. "We feel co-responsible that the existence of Israel be guaranteed, and the political consequence is that, when in doubt, we side with Israel, because that is our unique duty."

Born in 1940, the son of a German who resisted Hitler, Mr. Dressler said he felt that he could legitimately ask himself what responsibility he bears for the Holocaust and for safeguarding the Jewish state, whose birth was linked in some ways to Hitler's onslaught on the Jews of Europe.

"Of course I ask, how could the Nazis do this and what do I have to do with what they did?" the ambassador said. "But they did it, and we have to live with it. There is no time limit for what the Germans did. And so we help Israel."

Bernhard Steubing is 21, a volunteer who has shunned military service to work for Aktion Sühnezeichen – literally Action Sign of Atonement – a group that has brought hundreds of young Germans to Israel since the 1950's. He helps handicapped people and Holocaust survivors.

"I felt it was important to do something because of the past, and while Holocaust survivors are still alive," he said. "I feel close to Israelis, although

Israel's Ties With Germany Elude U.S. Jews

sometimes it is strange to find myself in this very nationalistic country, having refused to go to the German Army because I am against nationalism."

Germany and Israel are ideed an odd couple in this sense – the most postnational of European states allied with one of the most nationalistic. But their closeness has grown steadily past what once seemed the impenetrable wall of Hitler's annihilation of European Jewry.

In Germany, the immediate postwar years were marked by an attempt to bury the past, to find the elusive closure on the Holocaust for which many Germans still quest today.

In Israel, the initial reaction was also evasive because the Holocaust provoked a sense of humiliation on which the country preferred to turn its back. "We were raised as the better, proud Jews who could fight back, unlike our brothers who went like sheep to the slaughter," Mr. Primor said. "We thought, wrongly, that the victims humiliated us. They were insulted as the 'Sabonim' – the Jews gassed and turned into soap by the Nazis."

Over decades, Germany came to terms with its Nazi past and Israel adopted the view that Hitler's victims were lured and coerced to their fate.

"The coming-together was a long and painful process," said Mr. Merhav, the retired senior diplomat who is himself the son of German immigrants to Israel. "But postwar Germany won over the body politic of Israel through a constant policy of friendship. American Jews, of course, were never exposed to this sort of practical friendship, and I suspect their anger at Germany is also anger at themselves, for they were very late to realize what was going on in Europe."

One Israeli, Gabriel Bach – a Jew born in Berlin in 1927, chased out of Germany in 1938, and later the chief prosecutor at the trial of Adolf Eichmann – finds that painful memory and appreciation of the new Germany still confront each other.

In Berlin recently, he was strolling in a central park when his wife pointed out the geraniums in each and every window of the nearby apartments. "And I looked up and what I saw was the ocean of swastikas that had adorned those same windows in the 1930's," Mr. Bach said. "There were swastikas on every balcony. She spoke of flowers and I saw that."

The past is still haunting – but, for Mr. Bach, it is the past. Eichmann's trial was a moment of epiphany, he said, when the man who planned to destroy the Jews stood at attention before the symbols of the Jewish state in an Israeli courtroom.

Israelis' national pride, and struggles, seem to have led them – like Mr. Bach – to view Germany with less prejudice, and more self-confidence, and more pragmatic engagement than many American Jews.

"I can't feel any resentment toward Germans not born at the time of Hitler," Mr. Bach said.

Reinhard Wiemer, a German diplomat married to an Israeli and now stationed in Tel Aviv, has also served in the United States. In Washington, he said, they lived in a largely Jewish neighborhood. "People would ask my wife: how could you marry a German?" he recalled. "That does not happen here."

He sees several reasons for the difference between Israeli attitudes and what he called the suspicion and prejudice of American Jews toward Germany, including an Israeli identity that is less tied to the Holocaust than that of American Jews, the broad Israeli knowledge that Germany has helped the country a lot, and the stereotyping of Germans in American movies and television.

The situation is improving, he believes, but slowly, and the recent rise in anti-Semitic incidents in Germany naturally encourages those who wish to freeze their image of Germany in the past.

Mr. Wiemer enjoys Israel, but finds that being a German diplomat is often subject to the self-restraint that has helped build a remarkable alliance. "I think Israel should give back the occupied territories," Mr. Wiemer said. "I do not hide

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this, I tell my friends, and they do not object. But in public, as a German, you have to shut up."
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An article on Sunday about warmth in German-Israeli relations misstated the background of Gabriel Bach, an Israeli who compared his appreciation for Germany's current role with his painful memories of being expelled from Berlin in 1938. He was a prosecutor in the trial of Adolf Eichmann; the chief prosecutor was Gideon Hausner.
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The Holocaust: An American Memory?

By Peter Novick, University of Chicago, used with permission

In the United States, as in Germany, the Holocaust has come to be talked about as a national "collective memory," and there are, indeed, parallels in the way in which talk of the murder of European Jewry has evolved in the two countries: relative silence through the fifties; the beginning of public discussion in the sixties; ever more attention to the crime from the seventies onward until, nowadays, the Holocaust seems omnipresent. In both countries there is a good deal of talk about the "uniqueness" or "incomparability" of the Holocaust. But the apparent similarities can be deceptive. Even when the same words are used, they have very different significance. For all the talk of the Holocaust in the USA, it is not, in any worthwhile sense, an American "collective memory."

As in Germany, there was a vague awareness in the USA during the War that terrible things were being done to the Jews of Europe, but little detailed knowledge. For most Americans, Japan was the primary enemy in World War II, and the conflict in the Pacific was the center of public attention. Not much changed in this regard at the War's end. There was, to be sure, shocked horror at the photographs of liberated Dachau and Buchenwald, but this was understood not a confrontation with what we now call "the Holocaust," but with Nazi barbarism in general. American newspaper reports rarely used the words "Jew" or "Jewish" to describe either the dead or the (barely) living prisoners at these sites, since, unlike the murder camps in the East, most victims there were NOT Jewish. After the end of the War in Europe, American attention returned to the Pacific, which subsequently saw the bloodiest battles in which Americans were engaged in the entire war. Then, of course there was Hiroshima, which unlike Auschwitz, seemed relevant for the future. Unlike Auschwitz, Hiroshima engaged Americans directly – in the first instance, as its authors; in case of a repetition, as its possible victims.

American Jews were, of course, much more aware than other Americans of Germany's crimes against European Jewry, but after 1945, for them as well as for American gentiles, this seemed part of an era now ended. The creation of Israel was the symbol of one Jewish future. At home, the Jewish future also seemed bright, as over the first postwar years anti-Semitic barriers to full integration into American society rapidly crumbled. For Jews, as for other Americans, it was, overall, an optimistic and "forward looking" era, with little inclination to brood over the past. In the late 1940s an initiative to construct a Holocaust memorial in New York City was rejected by representatives of all the leading Jewish organizations. Such a monument, they said, would center in the American mind an image of the Jew as victim, which would "not be in the best interests of Jewry."

At the same time, this was the era of the Cold War, which saw a dramatic reversal of alliances for the United States. In 1945 Americans had cheered as the Red Army pounded Berlin into rubble; by 1948 they were cheered "gallant Berliners" resisting the Soviet blockade. To dwell on the recent crimes of our new ally could interfere with Cold War mobilization. During the first postwar decades, on the few occasions when the Holocaust was mentioned, its author was usually described as a generic "totalitarianism," with its German specificity muted.

As in Germany, the Eichmann Trial in 1961 brought to the attention of Americans a subject previously not much discussed. But for most Americans, the flurry of attention to what for the first time came to be called "the Holocaust" (a distinct event, apart from Nazi crimes in general) was short-lived.

But from the sixties onward, various developments moved the Holocaust to a permanent place on the American Jewish agenda. Fears for Israel's survival in 1967 and 1973 transformed the Holocaust from "mere," albeit tragic, history, to terrifying prospect. Some American Jews were, for a while, inclined to see Middle Eastern conflicts within a Holocaust paradigm; endow those conflicts with all the moral simplicity of the murder of European Jewry. (By the eighties the use of Holocaust imagery to describe Israel's situation was being abandoned, and by the nineties had all but disappeared.) At the same time, some American Jews

came to fear that as the Holocaust became "ancient history," anti-Semitism in America might revive. They feared as well that younger Jews' ignorance of the Holocaust was responsible for their loss of communal solidarity – reflected, among other ways, in soaring rates of intermarriage. American Jews, along with other Americans in these years, came to increasingly emphasize distinctive ethnic identities, rather than a common American identity. But large numbers of American Jews didn't have much in the way of distinctive religious or cultural traits; didn't have much to point to in establishing a separate identity. The Holocaust – the knowledge that but for parents' or grandparents' immigration, they would have shared the fate of European Jewry – came to define, for many American Jews, the foundation of their Jewish identity.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Holocaust gradually moved from being an almost-exclusively Jewish concern to something which captured the attention of gentile Americans as well. One of the great catalysts of this (as in Germany) was the 1978 television series "Holocaust," viewed by tens of millions of Americans. In the same year, President Jimmy Carter, unpopular with many American Jews because of his Middle Eastern policy, sought to win their support with the initiative that resulted in the creation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. Since its opening, that museum has had millions of visitors, as have other, privately sponsored museums of the Holocaust in many other American cities. Over the next twenty years, more and more television programs, films, and books focused on the crime. A growing number of state governments have made the teaching of the Holocaust mandatory in the schools. And a variety of widely-reported public events have kept the Holocaust before the American public – at least that portion of the public which pays attention to events overseas: the Bitburg fiasco, the Waldheim affair, the Carmelite Convent at Auschwitz, the trial of Ivan Demjanjuk and the matter of Swiss bank deposits. From an event which even American Jews didn't much talk about, the Holocaust came to loom large in general American public discourse. It seems safe to say that more Americans have at least some rudimentary knowledge of the Holocaust than those who know anything about any other European event of the twentieth century. It has become a deeply resonant symbol for many. Why?

There is no single answer to this question. Indeed, the Holocaust has become a potent symbol for so many Americans because it symbolizes so many different things. "Pro-life" forces talk constantly of "the abortion Holocaust," while gay-rights activists speak of "the AIDS Holocaust." "Progressive" teachers use Holocaust courses in the schools to advance causes of the Left, like liberalization of immigration. At the same time spokesmen for the Right invoke the Holocaust to demonstrate the inherent evil of man, and the consequent futility of attempts to transform the human condition. More generally, for the large and growing number of Americans distressed and disoriented by rapid social and cultural change, the Holocaust dramatized the chaos and breakdown that they feared; offered reassurance that good and evil remained clearly distinguishable.

It is not clear what consequences flow from the American confrontation with a de-historicized Holocaust, symbolizing "absolute evil." There is much talk in the United States of the "lessons" of the Holocaust. Above all, contemplating the horrors of the Holocaust is said to have sensitized Americans to other atrocities abroad. The record is, at best, uneven. No doubt "sensitization" has sometimes resulted from invoking the Holocaust. But making the Holocaust the standard has, just as often, desensitized: compared with it, other crimes appeared "not so bad." During the debate over whether the United States should intervene in Bosnia in 1993 leading opponents of American action argued that if what was going on there was really "a Holocaust," we'd of course have to do something, but (happily) it wasn't. (One problem with establishing a benchmark of "absolute evil" is that it easily becomes an invitation to a grading process, in which other horrific events will inevitably wind up as "95% evil," "75% evil," or get an even lower grade: "evil, but less than ABSOLUTE evil.")

All the talk of the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust – as common in the USA as in Germany – con-

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tributes to this. But in one important respect this way of talking about the Holocaust works in OPPOSITE directions in the two countries. In Germany, talk of the Holocaust's "incomparability" developed in a context which included the CDU insisting that as a price for supporting a law against denying the Holocaust, the law had to include a provision making it illegal to deny the suffering of Germans expelled from the East in 1945. "Relativization" meant equating crimes against Germans to crimes by Germans. Those who opposed "relativizing" the Holocaust did so to block what they correctly regarded as a move to evade confrontation with a painful national past, evade the implications of such a confrontation for the present and future. The identical talk of uniqueness and incomparability surrounding the Holocaust in the United States performs the opposite function. It promotes evasion of moral and historical responsibility. The repeated assertion that whatever the United States has done to blacks, Native Americans, Vietnamese, or others pales in comparison to the Holocaust is true – and evasive. And whereas a serious and sustained encounter with the history of hundreds of years of enslavement and oppression of blacks might imply costly demands on Americans to redress the wrongs of the past, contemplating the Holocaust is virtually cost-free; a few cheap tears. (What would Americans think of Germans if Germans said that while, of course, the Holocaust was a terrible thing, what was REALLY important was to build a German museum of American black slavery?)

The unanimity with which Americans express horror and revulsion when contemplating the Holocaust is certainly sincere – and appropriate. As the Holocaust has become a "sacred" event, everyone in America deplores the "politicization" of its memory. But collective memory, when it is consequential, when it is worthy of the name, is characteristically an arena of political contestation in which competing narratives about central symbols in the collective past, and the collectivity's relationship to that past, are disputed and negotiated in the interest of redefining the collective present. In the United States, unlike Germany, memory of the Holocaust is so banal, so inconsequential, not memory at all, precisely because it is so uncontroversial, so unrelated to real divisions in American society, so APOLITICAL.

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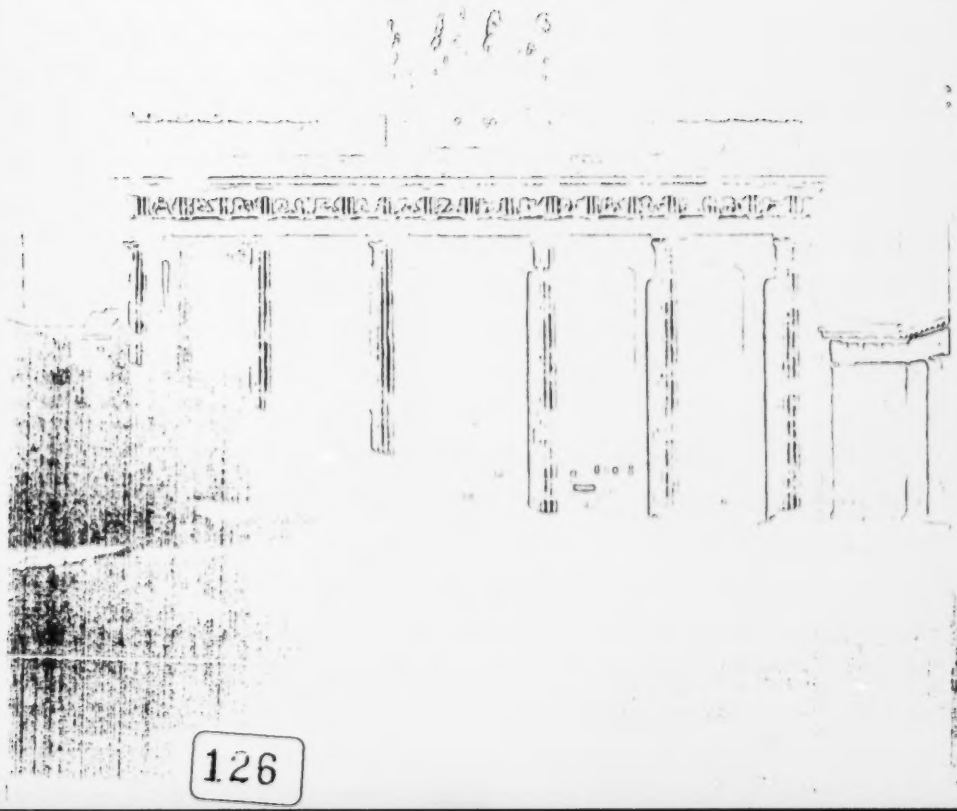

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